

THE
MODERN HISTORY
OF
HINDOSTAN:
COMPREHENDING THAT OF
THE GREEK EMPIRE OF BACTRIA,
AND OTHER
GREAT ASIATIC KINGDOMS, BORDERING ON ITS
WESTERN FRONTIER,
COMMENCING AT
THE PERIOD OF THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER,
AND
INTENDED TO BE BROUGHT DOWN TO THE CLOSE OF
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

VOL. I. PART II.

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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
HENRY ADDINGTON,
FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, CHANCELLOR OF
THE EXCHEQUER,
THE
GLORIOUS PACIFICATOR OF A CONFLICTING WORLD,

THE
MODERN HISTORY OF INDIA,

RESPECTFULLY AND ~~GRATEFULLY~~ INSCRIBED,

BY HIS
OBLIGED AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THOMAS MAURICE.

P R E F A C E.

THIS *Second* Part of the Modern History of Hindostan carries on the detail of Indian events nearly to the close of the fourteenth century; the *Third* Part, of which a considerable portion is composed, will bring it down to the termination of the seventeenth century, and the interesting and important transactions of the eighteenth century will occupy the whole of the *Fourth* and final Part. I must again beg permission to acquaint the Reader, that in these limited pages, he must only expect a very general sketch of the series of magnificent events that are perpetually occurring in the history of the empire of Hindostan. Those who are desirous of more circumstantial accounts will naturally consult the various authors who are my guides through the mighty labyrinth which I have attempted to explore.

The materials for the present undertaking, at first scanty and jejune, are now become abundant, and I trust that in the two Works, I mean its ANCIENT and its MODERN History, now before the indulgent Public,

notwithstanding it was necessary to *compress* as much as possible, consistently with perspicuity, there will still be found whatsoever is really important to be known concerning India, either in its fabulous or its serious history, during the extended period of nearly four thousand years ; in the mythological part, from Brahma floating in his egg, on the primordial waters, to the last fatal avatar, beneath the resounding hoof of whose winged courser creation is to crumble into dust ; in the portion of it unconnected with fable, from the sanguinary victories of an ALEXANDER and a TIMUR, to the necessary warfare, and justifiable conquests of a CORNWALLIS and a HARRIS !

It will not fail to be observed, that in one part of this Work Mr. Gibbon and myself tread nearly the same ground ; but it will also be remembered, that the ground in question is properly *mine*, and that Mr. Gibbon digressed, when his eloquent pen pourtrayed the martial character and heroic feats of the great Gengis Khan. In respect to *his* history, that Tartar sovereign was a very remote actor on the historic drama ; but, in regard to mine, he is a very near and important one, since the vast plains of Tartary form the northern boundary of Hindostan, and have ever cherished a hardy race of warriors, the scourge of her feebler progeny. The valour of Gengis, in particular,

crushed the renowned Charazmian dynasty established on its western frontier; and his blood rolled down, unviolated, through the veins of Timur, to Akber, and Aurungzeb. However, the field is immense; and though we meet, we do not clash. Both our orbits are rather eccentric, but the grand object of inquiry is never forgotten.

* The coloured Map of India, according to its modern divisions and governments, promised my Subscribers in the first portion, and given in the present, will, I trust, meet with their approbation. It is the work of that excellent geographer, Mr. Arrowsmith, and, together with that of Ancient India, from the same hand, in the First Volume of Indian Antiquities, is amply sufficient for all the general purposes of information. Major Rennell's comprehensive Charts must be consulted by those who wish for minute particulars; but, alas! the ravages of time, and the desolating hand of barbarous invaders, have contributed to annihilate many of the proudest cities of the paradise of Asia.

A heart overflowing with grateful attachment to the elevated character, who was among the first in munificently patronising my historical labours, leads me extremely to lament that a few of the early copies of the First Part of this Volume were vended without that mark of respect which was intended by the Dedication

to be paid to THE SAVIOUR OF HIS COUNTRY. The omission arose from peculiar circumstances, which would have rendered its publication, *last February*, improper. It is here reprinted, and those Subscribers who have it not, are requested to order their bookbinders to insert it in the First Part, immediately after the Title-page ; for every successive day produces additional proof of the truth and justice of the sentiment contained in it.

CONTENTS.

BOOK III.

CARRYING ON THE INDIAN HISTORY NEARLY TO THE CLOSE OF THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Mahmud's Successors on the Throne of Gazna.—2. **MOHAMMED**—his short and unfortunate Reign.—3. **MASSUD**—attacked by the Seljukian Turks; marches into Hindostan, where he takes numerous Forts, and commits many Ravages and Massacres.—On his Return to Gazna, is defeated in a great Battle, by the Seljuks.—Quitting Gazna, he retreats to Lahore.—In that Retreat the Army revolts; the royal Baggage is plundered, and Massud shortly after assassinated.—4. **MODUD**.—Rebellion of his Brother.—The Seljuks seize on Persian Irak and Chorasán on the West, while on the East, the united Rajahs of Hindostan retake Naugracut, and many other Forts conquered by Mahmud, and march to besiege Lahore.—The latter are driven back, and the Seljuks eventually beaten.—Amidst the most strenuous Efforts to expel the latter from Chorasán, Modud is suddenly taken ill, and dies.—5. **MASSUD the Second**.—A civil War in Gazna occasions his Deposition, after a Reign of only six Days.—6. **ABUL HASSAN**—despoiled of the Southern Provinces of Hindostan by the Rebel **ALI**—and after a short Reign driven from his Throne by—7. **ABDULRAHID**.—He recovers Southern Hindostan, and retakes Naugracut—dethroned and murdered by his General, Togrol, who usurps the Crown; but is himself, shortly after, assassinated.—8. **FEROCHZAD**.—The Seljuks invade the Gaznavian Territories, but are repulsed.—They renew the Attack, and are victorious; but, for the present, forbear to follow up that Victory.—Generous Conduct of Ferochzad to the Turkish Prisoners.—Attempted to be murdered in the Bath, but destroys the Assassin; and shortly after dies a natural Death.—9. **IBRAHIM**—a learned and virtuous, but deeply bigotted Prince; concludes a dishonourable Peace with the Seljukian Turks, the sworn Foes of the Empire, in Order to prosecute, with renewed Vigour, the War against the Idolaters of Hindostan.—Takes the Town and Fortress of Adjodin, and other strong Holds, and

obtains, from his numerous Victories over the Hindoos, the Sirname of **AL MODHAFFAR**, or the Conqueror.—Dies, after a prosperous and protracted Reign of forty two Years - - - - - Page 305

CHAPTER II.

Digression concerning the Seljukian Dynasty.—Its four great Chieftains, Jaffer Bek, Togliol Bek, Alp Arslan, Malec Shah.—Division and Ruin of the Seljukian Empire.—Massud III. tenth King of Gazna and India—a wise and politic Prince.—His Generals extend their Conquests beyond those of Mahmud, eastward.—Arilla, eleventh King of Gazna and India—His short Reign that of Blood and Turbulence.—Dethroned by Sinjar, the Seljuk Sultan, and succeeded by Byram, twelfth King of Gazna and India—a liberal Patron of the Arts and Sciences.—Invades India twice with Success, but by putting to Death the Prince of GAUR, brings down upon himself the implacable Vengeance of the Sovereigns of that Dynasty.—Gazna taken by the latter, and Byram, in his Flight to Lahore, perishes the Victim of Grief and Despair.—Chosro I. thirteenth King of Gazna and India.—Makes the Indian City of Lahore his Capital.—Gazna and its Inhabitants delivered over, by its Gauride Conquerors, during seven days, to boundless Pillage and Slaughter.—He rules the Indian Provinces in Peace—and dies, after an inglorious Reign of seven Years.—Chosro II. fourteenth and last King of India, of the Race of Mahmud Gaznavi.—Attacked by Mohammed of Gaur, and besieged in Lahore.—That Capital, after baffling the Besiegers in two Assaults, is at length taken by Stratagem.—Extinction of the Gaznavian Power.—The GAURIDE Dynasty.—Mohammed, first Gauride King of India.—Marches an Army into Hindostan.—Dreadful Battle with the Kings of Ajmere and Delhi.—Deserted by his Omrahs, and suffers a disgraceful defeat.—The War renewed with rekindled Fury.—The Hindoos utterly routed.—Rise of CURRUB.—Attack and Defeat of the Rajah of Canouge.—Benares and other Cities beyond the Ganges taken and plundered.—Unsuccessful War in Transoxiana.—Attack and Defeat of the Gickers, or wild Mountaineers of Lahore—Mohammed Gauri assassinated by a Banditti of that Tribe, after a Reign of thirty-two Years.—Mahmud, second Gauride King of India—after a short Reign, conquered by the great Mohammed, Sultan of Charazm, who puts a Period to the Gauride Dynasty - - - - - Page 337

CHAPTER III.

The Attack and Capture of the Imperial City of SAMARCAND, by GENGIS KHAN.
 —The Siege and Plunder of CHARAZM, and utter Subversion of the Charazmian Empire, by that Invader.—Death of Sultan MOHAMMED, and Defeat of his Son GELALEDDEEN.—Detailed History of the first Dynasty of Mohammedan Kings of Delhi. 1. CUTTUB: originally a Slave of Mohammed of Gaur, he seizes on the Province over which he was appointed Governor, makes himself independent in that Capital, and establishes himself on its Throne.—2. ELDOZE, another Slave of the same Prince, establishes himself in his Persian Dominions, defeats Cuttub in Battle, and for a Time possesses his Throne.—3. ARAM, Son of Cuttub, a weak pusillanimous Prince, reigns for the short Period of a Year, and is dethroned by—4. ALTUMSH, a wise and warlike Sovereign, reigns twenty-six Years.—5. FERROS I. a luxurious and effeminate Prince, after a Reign of six Months dethroned by—6. SULTANA RIZIA, a Princess of undaunted Courage, and great Talents for governing, but eventually dethroned and put to Death by—7. BYRAM II. a jealous and suspicious Prince, in his Turn dethroned by his Vizier.—8. MASSUD IV. for Injustice and Oppression, and other Vices, driven by his Omrahs from the Throne.—9. MAHMUD II. a Prince distinguished for Learning, Justice, and Temperance.—10. BALIN, as renowned for Valour, Generosity, and political Wisdom. Under him the Kingdom of DELHI reached its proudest Height of Glory.—11. KAI KOBAD.—His Reign and Character a perfect Contrast to that of the former Sovereign.—Effeminate alike in Body and Mind, he resigns himself to his Pleasures, and suffers the Empire to be distracted by Faction within, and by Invasion from without—assassinated after a short inglorious Reign. In him became extinct the Line of Delhi Princes of the Gauride Dynasty, descended from CUTTUB; and to them succeeded the Princes of the Tribe of the CHILLIGIES - Page 378

CHAPTER IV.

The AFGHAN Dynasty continued.—Account of the CHILLIGIES, a Tribe of Afghanistan.—12. FEROSH III. an avaricious Tyrant, who, by his General ALLA, first, of the Mohammedan Princes, invades the DECAN, and obtains incredible Treasures.—Murdered by that General, who usurps the Throne.—13. ALLA I. a valiant and magnificent, but ferocious and sanguinary Prince—extends his Conquests in the Decan.—14. OMAR, an Infant, deposed after a short Reign of three Months.—15. MUBARIC I. a Monster of Vice, assassinated by Chosro Khan, his Minister, who, for a short Time, usurps the Throne; but by the confederated

Omrahs is driven from it and slain.—16. **TUGLICK I.** of Afghan Descent, and Leader of those Omrahs, by the general Voice ascends the Throne—a wise, politic, and virtuous Prince.—17. **MOHAMMED III.** a sanguinary Tyrant, distinguished only by Ambition and Rapacity—his vain Project to subjugate the Empire of China, and mad Effort to make Deogur the Capital of the Empire.—After reigning twenty-six Years, this Scourge of Hindostan is succeeded by—18. **FEROZ III.** a benign and generous Prince—improves the Empire, desolated by his Predecessor, with Canals and other magnificent Undertakings.—After a long Reign of Justice and Glory he resigns his Throne to his Grandson.—19. **TUGLICK II.** a Slave to his Pleasures, and the Victim of his Imprudence—assassinated after a Reign of a few Months.—20. **ABU BICKER**, deposed, after a Reign of a Year and an half, by—21. **MOHAMMED IV.** the Son of Feroze.—Under him the Empire begins to decline. Succeeded by—22. **MAHMUD II.** an Infant, during whose Minority, as well as riper Years, it is torn to Pieces by contending Factions; which encourages the Invasion of the great **TIMUR**, who puts a Period to this Dynasty Page 435

DIRECTION TO THE BINDER.

Insert the coloured Map of India opposite Page 1, in the First Part.

MODERN HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

BOOK III.

CARRYING ON THE INDIAN HISTORY TO THE TERMINATION OF THE
YEAR OF CHRIST 1400.

CHAPTER I.

Mahmud's Successors on the Throne of Gazna.—2. MOHAMMED—his short and unfortunate Reign.—3. MASSUD—attacked by the Seljukian Turks; marches into Hindostan, where he takes numerous Forts, and commits many Ravages and Massacres.—On his Return to Gazna, is defeated in a great Battle, by the Seljuks.—Quitting Gazna, he retreats to Lahore.—In that Retreat the Army revolts; the royal Baggage is plundered, and Massud shortly after assassinated.—4. MODUD.—Rebellion of his Brother.—The Seljuks seize on Persian Irak and Chorasan on the West, while on the East, the united Rajabs of Hindostan retake Naugracut, and many other Forts conquered by Mahmud, and march to besiege Lahore.—The latter are driven back, and the Seljuks eventually beaten.—Amidst the most strenuous Efforts to expel the latter from Chorasan, Modud is suddenly taken ill, and dies.—5. MASSUD the Second.—A civil War in Gazna occasions his Deposition, after a Reign of only six Days.—6. ABUL HASSAN—despoiled of the Southern Provinces of Hindostan by the Rebel ALI—and after a short Reign driven from his

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THE life and exploits of Mahmud were, in the preceding book, given in more considerable detail, than it will be deemed necessary to speak of those of any of his *fourteen* successors on the throne of Gazna. They served as a proper introduction into the interior of India, and afforded an authentic portrait of the manners, the customs civil and military, the mode of government, and the surprising riches of that country, at the opening of the eleventh century. It is my intention to pass on, as rapidly as I may, without being obscure, in this wide survey of Asiatic transactions, connected with the history of India, through the remainder of this dynasty, and that of GAUR and CHARASM, selecting only, as I promised in the preface, the striking features and prominent events of the successive reigns of the monarchs that compose them, and principally those that have immediate relation to the country under consideration. These events will carry us forward about two centuries, when the last of

the above-mentioned dynasties became extinct in the person of the brave Gelaleddin, defeated by Gengis Khan, and a new dynasty of Mohammedan conquerors founded by Cuttub, or Cothbeddin Ibeck, as he is denominated by Herbelot and Orme, began their proud career of glory, as kings of Delhi. After the lapse of two more centuries, this dynasty was dissolved amidst the convulsions of Asia, by the arms of Timur, with whose death will terminate the present book.

The renowned prince, whose actions have lately engaged so large a share of our attention, left behind him two sons, Massud and Mohammed.

MOHAMMED, SECOND KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

Mohammed his younger son, in pursuance of his father's determination, taken up and promulged at rather a late period of his life, mounted the throne of Gazna, but enjoyed the imperial dignity only during a short interval. Massud, the elder, though only by a few hours, (for they were twins,) advancing from his government of the newly conquered Persian Irak, appeared in force on the borders of Chorasán, to dispute his claim to an empire which he deemed his birth-right. Mohammed, on the other hand, prepared to support his just pretensions to that sovereign authority, which had been solemnly delegated to him by the dying words and will of his father. With this view, he opened wide the royal treasury, and from that exhaustless hoard, poured upon his friends and dependents, a deluge of wealth, in order to bind them closer to his interests.

This profuse liberality, however, though it spread a momentary gladness through Gazna, by no means, firmly attached to himself, the hearts either of the citizens or the soldiery. They were fixed upon his brother, whom, in direct opposition to the royal intention, they had long regarded as the heir of the empire, and consequently, as the indisputable successor of Mahmud. For this high distinction

he seemed designated as well by the superior qualities of his mind, as the accidental advantage of his priority in birth. His lofty and indomitable spirit, that from his infancy disdained restraint, the fire of his extraordinary genius, and the undaunted fortitude that marked his character, evinced the future monarch; while his courteous affability, and boundless generosity to all ranks of people, pointed him out as the father and guardian of his people. The powers of his body were not inferior to those of his mind. The arrow sent from his arm, it is said, could pierce the strongest mail, and sink into the body of the stoutest elephant; and his iron mace was so ponderous, that no man of his time, could raise with one hand the deadly weapon. The natural impetuosity of his disposition had hurried him into many excesses, and involved him in many dangerous quarrels, which, with other acts of contemptuous disregard, had alienated the affections of his father, who, by degrees, transferred them to his brother; a prince equally beneficent and tractable, and who had never deviated from the most exact line of obedience.

Massud did not immediately or openly avow his designs. He pretended acquiescence with his father's dying commands; he gave out, that his visit was that of brotherly regard and respectful homage to the new emperor, and only solicited from the liberality of that brother, a larger portion of his vast domain, than was decreed him by the royal will; especially those regions which his own sword had added to the empire. Mohammed, however, contrary to the advice of his most judicious ministers, and instigated by the jealous hatred that had, from their youth subsisted, between the rival brothers, refused to receive his visit, or hearken to his moderate demands. He left Gazna, therefore, with intent to decide the matter by force of arms; but, in his march was deserted by his ablest generals, and himself, shortly after, by the perfidy of some disaffected omrahs, betrayed into the hands of Massud, who, for ever

barred all his future pretensions to sovereignty by depriving him of sight. He, who had but just before left Gazna at the head of a powerful army, surrounded with all the splendour and magnificence of a great empire, was now seen to return a miserable appendage to the greatness of another, robbed both of his sceptre and his sight, destitute, forlorn, and friendless. Justice compels us to add, that though the barbarous policy of Eastern kings dictated to Massud this cruel measure, yet he inflicted the most exemplary punishment on those perfidious generals and omrahs who had deserted and betrayed him; dooming some to immediate death, and others to perpetual imprisonment.*

MASSUD, THIRD KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

In A. II. 419, or A. D. 1028, exactly five months (but two years later according to the chronology of Abulfeda),† after the death of Mahmud, which was the short period of the former Sultanet, Massud was invested with the ensigns of royalty. A general release of all the state prisoners confined by his brother and father, announced his accession to the throne, and rivetted the affection of both court and people to the interests of a prince, who commenced his reign with diffusing the blessings of liberty. After the splendid ceremony of the inauguration was over, the oath of allegiance taken by the Omras, and the aspect of public affairs, after so sudden a revolution, grown somewhat serene, Massud found an ample field lay open for the exertion of his military talents in the reduction of rebellions at home, and the repulsion of invasion from abroad. Of the former, the most formidable was that of Ali Takin,‡ who had seized upon the cities of Bochara and Samarcand, and against whom

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 86; and Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. Art. Massud.

† Annal. Muslem. Tom. III. p. 77.

‡ Called in Ferishta *Ali Tiggi*, the Turcoman,

he sent the brave but unfortunate Altan Tosti,* the governor for himself of Charazm. The generals met at Samarcand, when a desperate battle ensued; in which the latter gained a victory at the expense of his life.

During the confusion that arose from the contentions of the rival brothers, many cities of Hindostan, reduced by Sultan Mahmud, had likewise revolted, against whom Massud determined to lead an army in person, and preserve, if possible, the verdure of the laurels so gloriously won on those plains by his father, from decay. In his precipitate ardour to engage on the field of those victories that made Mahmud immortal, he treated with too much contempt an inbred foe rising up to national importance in the very centre of his empire. This foe was the celebrated race of SELJUKS, whose ancestor of the same name was a chief of high renown, and the supreme head of one of the noblest families of Turkestan; but, from his great bravery, becoming an object of terror, and, from his increasing power, an object of jealousy, to the king of that country, was compelled to quit it, and secure to himself and dependents a settlement in the fertile district of Bochara. When Sultan Mahmud marched with an army to the assistance of the king of Mawaralnahr, this warlike tribe enlisted under his banners, and, by his permission, was afterwards imprudently permitted to settle in the plains of Chorasani. Of this step he, in a short time, found abundant reason to repent, and saw in their rising greatness the ruin of his own family. The Seljuks had already made vast and rapid strides towards the attainment of sovereign authority, and before Massud's return from Hindostan had not only subjected the greater part of Chorasani, but extended their ravages and authority widely over the Persian

* In Ferishta, *Altasash*. The Persian and Arabian historians differ exceedingly in their mode of writing the proper names of Eastern princes. As the present period of history is Arabian, in this place I chiefly follow the orthography of the latter; I mean, AL MAKIN, and ABULFEDA.

Irak. Of the astonishing power they afterwards arrived at, and of the dynasty they established in Asia, we shall speak more at large hereafter.

With far more zeal, therefore, for new conquests than prudence to preserve those already acquired, the Gaznavide monarch urged his course towards Hindostan by the higher route of Cashmire, and arriving before the fort of Sursutti, called by Abulfeda, *Sarsabi*, which commanded the passes, invested it with his whole force. Intimidated by the appearance of so vast an army, the inhabitants would willingly have averted his vengeance by proposals of surrender; but the piercing cries of some Mussulmen captives, in the Arabian language, detained prisoners in the fort, reaching his ear, checked the emotions of rising mercy, and determined him on their instant and total destruction. The vast surrounding foss was immediately filled up with felled trees and SUGAR CANES,* which abounded in that neighbourhood. The scaling ladders were immediately applied to the walls, which, after a bloody contest, were mounted, and the garrison, without distinction of age or sex, barbarously put to the sword. The place was then resigned to the plunder of the soldiers, and a part of the spoil soothed the sufferings of the imprisoned Mussulmen, whose effects had formerly been confiscated by the Indians, with the like undistinguishing rapacity.

In the year of Christ 1034, Massud sent an army under an Indian chief, named Ban, against Ahmud, who had rebelled in the government of Guzzurat; but when the rival armies met, Ban was defeated with great slaughter. Massud being informed of this disaster, highly incensed, dispatched Toulock, another Indian chief, who, coming to battle with Ahmud, gave him a total overthrow. He fled in great haste towards Munsura, Tatta, and the country near the mouth of

* This shews how early and abundantly the sugar cane was cultivated in India; Abulfeda also confirms this curious circumstance; *fossas lignis et arundine saccharifera opplenda*, Abulfed. Ann. Muslem. Tom. III. p. 83.

the Indus. Touluck pursued him so close, that many thousands of the fugitives fell into his hands; whom he treated in the most inhuman manner, cutting off their noses and ears. When Ahmud reached the banks of the Indus, he found himself, if possible, in greater distress than before; for collecting all the boats which the pressure of the enemy would permit, he endeavoured to cross the river. But the soldiers, fearful of being abandoned by their commander, hurried after him into the boats with such violence, and in such numbers, that most of them were either upset or sunk. A sudden storm, and an inundation of the river, added to the confusion of this dreadful scene; so that very few of the vanquished army escaped. The body of their chief was soon after found by the enemy, and his head sent to Gazna.

A new palace having been about this time finished at that capital, a massy golden throne, studded with jewels, was erected in a magnificent hall; and a crown of pure gold, weighing seventy maunds, darting lustre from innumerable precious stones, was suspended by a golden chain over it, by way of canopy, under which the sultan himself, refulgent in gold and purple, and covered with the diamonds and pearls of plundered Hindostan, daily sat in state, and gave public audience to his almost adoring subjects.

In A. D. 1035, he again bent his progress towards Hindostan, and attacked the strong fort and city of Hassi, the capital of Sewalic, a country near the supposed sources of the Ganges, and reckoned impregnable; for the Hindoos had been taught to believe by some of their prophets that it should never fall into the hands of the Mussulmen. But those prophets deceived their ignorant followers, for Hassi being stormed by the troops of Massud, in six days surrendered. In the temples and palace of that city he found immense treasures, which having carefully secured, he marched on without delay to the fort of Sunput, forty miles from Delhi, on the road to Lahore. At the conqueror's approach, Deipal, the Indian governor,

evacuated the fort and fled into the woods; but his treasure, which he had not time to carry off, became the property of Massud. Fired with the same rage against idolatry which inspired his father, he ordered all the temples of the captured places to be laid in ruins, and all the idols to be broken down. Deipal, driven from his government, appeared in arms to regain, if possible, his plundered treasures, but was surprised by the sultan, his army taken prisoners, and himself compelled to escape in the habit of a slave.

One of the most powerful and wealthy rajahs of those parts was Raum, towards whose territories Massud immediately directed his march; but the prudent chief, to divert the threatened storm, sent him presents of inestimable value, besides a vast train of elephants, excusing his own personal attendance on account of the infirmities of his very advanced age. The sultan accepted both his presents and apology, and taking possession of the whole country in his rear, proceeded to Lahore. He there appointed his son Mayudud to the government, conferred on him the drums and ensigns of state; and, for his more prudent administration of affairs, fixed at the head of his council, Eur, his favourite general, and an able and experienced statesman.

In a letter which Massud wrote from Hindostan to his omrahs at Gazna, during this expedition, he informed them of his having sacrificed to the religion of Mohammed fifty thousand infidels, taken seventy thousand prisoners, and acquired a booty, amounting to a million of dinars. A more tremendous scourge than the army of Massud, about this time, likewise visited that country; which, in many parts, was almost depopulated by the ravages of a pestilential disorder.

The progress, however, of farther desolation from the destroying arm of Massud was, for the present, prevented by urgent and repeated solicitations from the governors of Chorasán and Persian Irak, that Massud would immediately hasten to the relief of those

provinces from the inroads of the Seljukian Turks, who, he was informed, in the Eastern style of metaphor, were at first but ants, numerous but inoffensive, but were now become snakes, of matured growth, and, if they were not soon destroyed, would in a short time grow up to serpents, of a magnitude and venom too powerful for resistance, and too baneful for antidote.

Sensible of his own neglect in regard to these fierce marauders, Massud no longer delayed the execution of those measures which, if undertaken at an earlier period, must have insured success. After reducing the prince of Tabrestan, and reconquering the province of Gurgan, which had revolted, he led his army towards Balkh, whose governor Nur Takin had combined with the enemies of the empire to distress and plunder it. The terror which the approach of his numerous and victorious legions inspired, induced the enemy to evacuate that city and its neighbourhood, and they continued retreating before him, till at length, under Togrol Bek and Jaffar Bek, the grandsons of Seljuk, their whole force being collected together from all quarters, a general and most desperate engagement took place on the plains of Dindaka, the Zendekan of Herbelot. So vast were the numbers of the Seljuks, that they almost surrounded the royal army, while Massud, not at all daunted by their formidable appearance, coolly arranged his troops, and vigorously commenced the attack. The enemy advanced with equal impetuosity, and, by their prolonged and barbarous acclamations, endeavoured to intimidate the soldiers of Massud; who, astonished and confounded at this unusual mode of charging, began early to give way. But what most enraged the king was, that several of his generals deserted the imperial standards, and either joined those of the enemy, or fled to Gazna. At this trying crisis, the valiant Massud addressed himself to the few faithful chiefs that surrounded him, in language at once the most affecting and encouraging. He told them, that the fortune of the day was not yet wholly decided:

that the same strenuous efforts of valour which had obtained them victory in moments of former peril, might still, if exerted, snatch from their foes the doubtful laurel; that all that was dear or sacred to them, their own honour, the glory of their king, and the security of their country, depended upon one noble effort to revenge themselves upon their enemies, and those more hateful, because less generous, foes, who had so basely deserted their cause.

“Massud,” says his Oriental biographer, “at that instant turning his horse to where he beheld the torrent of gleaming arms rolling on, plunged singly to oppose the stream, bearing down all before him, and exhibiting such acts of gigantic force and valour, as never king had before displayed. A few of his friends, roused by his words and actions, and that innate honour which inspires the brave, seconded their lord so well, that whithersoever he turned his fatal sword, the enemy were mowed down, or retreated before him.” The faithful bands that surrounded him, however, were few in number, utterly inadequate to obtain or secure decisive victory over their hardy and numberless opponents. After having, therefore, in vain attempted, with that sword, to hew a passage through the line of the enemy, he endeavoured to collect to one spot his flying army, and the greater part having at length rejoined the royal standard, he led them by the way of Gaur to Gazna. There the generals who had so ingloriously deserted their sovereign in battle were, by his orders, seized, and doomed to perpetual banishment in a fort of Hindostan. After this defeat, Massud made many vigorous but ineffectual exertions to expel the invaders from the dominions they had usurped; but they had fortified themselves so strongly in many cities of Chorasán, and kept an army so formidable for its numbers and bravery, ever ready and even zealous to enter upon action, that he found it impossible, at this time, to exterminate them. Anxious, however, to retain Balkh in his possession, he dispatched his son Modud thither at the head of four thousand horse, as well to defend

it against the Seljuks, as to punish Nur Takin, the governor, for the black perfidiousness of his conduct. At the same time he ordered his other son Mayudud, who had hastened to his assistance with two thousand horse from Lahore, to secure Multan. Massud himself, foiled, but not desponding, resolved for the present to withdraw into Hindostan, till he could collect his forces, and by one grand decisive effort retrieve his perplexed affairs.*

With this view, he sent for all his wealth of various kinds, from the different strong holds, to Gazna, and, laying it upon camels, bent his way to Lahore. He likewise released his brother Mohammed from confinement, and compelled him to accompany his army. The slaves (by which word we are not to understand menial servants, but the captives and young children, bought by Eastern sovereigns, educated for the offices of state, and often adopted as their successors) being at that time numerous in the army, when it arrived on the banks of the Gelum, whose water, for its purity, is called the water of Paradise, confederated with those who guarded the camels to plunder the royal treasures. The troops, sensible of the declining state of the imperial power, and willing to reward their warlike toils by a share of the wealth they had assisted to acquire, immediately joined in the pillage, and in a moment all was

* These events are rapidly enumerated by Al Makin, to whose page we must now frequently revert to elucidate or corroborate Ferishta. Below is his jejune narrative.

Rex autem Massudus fugit in Indiam, et in regionem ejus penetravit, inque ea diu substitit, desertâ Chorasânâ: quam Salghucidæ, gnaviter se in ea gerentes, subjugarunt, et opibus spoliârunt; quod cum intellexisset princeps Masudus, reversus est, sed bello eum petiêrunt Salghucidæ, et in fugam verterunt.

Anno 431 prodiit Masudus, filius Mahmudi, contra Togrulbecum, cumque in fugam vertit, et multos de militibus ejus cecidit, et quosdam etiam cepit, cepitque arma eorum.

Anno 432 reversus est princeps Togrulbecus, Naisaburum, et fugit princeps Masudus, filius Mahmudi, filius Sebuctakini, Gaznam, ac potiti sunt milites Togrulbeci universa Chorasana, visique sunt tot homines occidere, ac tantum sanguinis effundere, ut comprehendi aut numerari non potuerint. Al Makin Hist. Saracen. p. 333.

uproar, ravage, and confusion. From plundering the king's treasures they began to make depredations on one another, and as each was superior to his neighbour in bodily strength, or force of arms, a larger proportion of the spoil became his property. Imagination cannot conceive any thing more terrible, than a whole army thus engaged in boundless spoliation. A number of lives were necessarily sacrificed during the contest, and when the sultan approached to punish the offenders, not an arm was found to execute the vengeance he denounced. All, in fact, were equally guilty, and in their just dread of punishment from the severity of Massud, had combined with one voice, to depose him, and raise the blind Mohammed to the throne. Rushing therefore in a body to his tent, they brought him forth with loud clamours, and publicly proclaimed him emperor.

In this dilemma, neither the dauntless fortitude of his mind, nor his gigantic personal strength were of any avail to Massud, for the infuriate multitude, resolved to protect their wealth by their disloyalty, and convinced, that rebellion alone could secure them the permanent possession of it, surrounded the unfortunate monarch, and bore him away prisoner to the new sultan. Touched with his melancholy and altered situation, Mohammed, on this occasion, manifested no signs of a tyrannic or sanguinary disposition; but informed him, that the security, not the destruction, of his person, was his object; and desired him to fix upon some sort in the circle of his dominions, whither he would choose to retire; promising him the consolation of his family to soothe the hours of confinement. Massud on the other hand, conducted himself with dignity and firmness; and solicited, if imprisonment must be his hard doom, to pass the remainder of his life in the castle of Kuerri, or Kobra Kebir, as it is called by Mirkhond. So reduced were the circumstances of the degraded sultan, that he was compelled to apply to the generosity of his brother for money, to pay the salaries of his menial attendants. That

brother, far less generous than merciful, sent him the pitiful sum of five hundred dirms to relieve his exigency. It was then that Massud, for the first time, felt the misery of his deplorable state, and in the anguish of his heart, exclaimed ; “ Oh ! cruel reverse of fate ! Yesterday I was a mighty prince ; three thousand camels bending under my treasure. To-day, I am forced to beg, and receive but the mere mockery of my wants.” Indignant at this treatment, Massud borrowed a thousand dirms from his servants, and bestowed them as a present upon his brother’s messenger, who had brought the five hundred dirms, which he desired might be punctually redelivered into the hands of his bountiful master.*

Mohammed, not long after his second accession, perceiving that the loss of sight, of which he had been deprived by Massud, rendered him incapable of business, resigned the sceptre to his son Ahmed, who not thinking himself secure upon the throne, while Massud lived, without consulting his father, went in person to the castle where he was confined, and with the assistance of two desperate ruffians assassinated that unfortunate prince. Modud, then at Balkh, having heard of the tragical end of his father, was filled with rage, and vowed revenge against the murderers. He immediately left Balkh, and at the head of a well disciplined army, advanced to Gazna, where he was received by the citizens, with the loudest acclamations of joy and welcome. Impatient to engage the sanguinary usurper, he then hastened to meet the enemy, who were advancing from Multan, and the two armies coming to an action, near the banks of the Indus, the forces of Ahmed were completely routed, and both himself, Mohammed, and the two murderers taken prisoners. These were all immediately ordered for execution ; and thus was the death of Massud amply and instantaneously avenged, by the zeal and affection of his son. In commemoration of this great victory, Modud erected a city upon the spot where he ob-

* Mirkhond in Teixeira, p. 294. Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 100.

tained it, and called it Fatte-Abad, which signifies the City of Victory. He afterwards marched back to Gazna, whither he carried the remains of his father to be interred, and without farther opposition ascended the vacant throne.

Massud reigned nine years and nine months; and was assassinated in A. H. 439. A. D. 1041.

He was a brave and magnificent prince; affable, of easy access, and so decidedly the friend of learning and genius, that men of that stamp ever found in his court a ready and hospitable asylum. As an instance of his munificence, Abu Keihan of Charasm, a great philosopher and astrologer of that age, having composed a most excellent treatise upon astronomy, was rewarded by the sultan with an elephant made of silver. So extensive was his general charity, we are informed, that some days in the month of Ramazan, he often bestowed a lac of dirms upon the poor. In the beginning of his reign, he built many noble mosques, and endowed many colleges and schools, which he erected in different cities of his wide dominions.*

MODUD, FOURTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

The tide of good fortune which had already attended Modud in his progress to the throne of Gazna, did not desert him when that throne was secured. Nami, another son of Mohammed had, previously to the last fatal engagement, been appointed governor of Peishore and Multan, and remained in those districts with a considerable force. While, therefore, the new sultan was engaged in arranging the public concerns at Gazna, he dispatched Nisir Ahmed, the late vizier, to reduce that country to obedience, which he happily effected, but not without the death of the governor.

A foe, far more formidable, in the person of Mayudud, his own brother, who was in possession of Lahore and its dependencies, was

* Ferishta, in loco citat. Herbelot under the article Massud. Abulfeda, Tom. III. p. 115. Al Makin, p. 334.

shortly after in motion. Determined to obtain a share of that empire, to the sovereignty of which Modud had been advanced by such a train of rapid successes, he refused to acknowledge his authority, and had already seized on the whole country lying between the Indus, Hassi, and Tannasar. Equally determined, at every hazard, to maintain his pretension to an undivided empire, the sultan led forth the royal forces with alacrity to engage his rival, who on hearing of his motion advanced to the contest from Hassi, the place of his residence, with his whole force. So powerful, as well as numerous, was that force, the army of Modud shrunk back at their approach, and several of the chiefs deserting their colours, enlisted themselves under the banners of the enemy. At this critical period, fortune, or perhaps treachery, befriended the sultan. In the morning of the day of sacrifice, Mayudud was found dead in his bed, without any previous complaint, or apparent cause of his decease. But what seemed most to evince the hand of treachery was, that the next day his counsellor and friend, was found dead in the same sudden and unaccountable manner. Their leader being extinct, the rebel army enlisted under the royal banners, so that there remained no power at present able or inclined to cope with this vast army, either in the north or south of Hindostan.

Intimidated by this amazing accession of power, the great province of Maver-ul-nere, which had for some time asserted its independence, now bowed in submission to his authority. The Seljuks, however, who had erected their infant state into a regular monarchy, continued their depredations unawed by his authority, and unsoftened by his forbearance. Togrol Bek, who had been solemnly inaugurated under an instrument of investiture from the caliph Al Kayem, reigned uncontrouled in Persian Irak, while his brother, Jaffar Bek,* by agreement between the invaders, enjoyed the

* Jaffar Bek is called by other Oriental writers, Jakar Bek Dawud : in Ferishta, it is written Chukher Beg Daood : Jakar is only a corruption of Jaffar.

province of Chorasim. Against their combined force, Modud led army after army, with various success, and in the attempt to subdue them exhausted the resources of his remaining empire. Those invincible enemies, who made war their profession, in the distant provinces firmly maintained their ground, and in spite of some repulses nearer home, were daily advancing, with hasty strides, towards the capital itself.

Burning with resentment against the whole family of Mahmud Gaznavi, for the dreadful and sacrilegious devastations they had, during a period of forty years, committed in Hindostan, in A. D. 1041, the rajahs of the northern provinces combined together, to expel his posterity from all its boundaries. The apparent imbecillity of the Gaznavian empire, drained both of its soldiers and treasure, by frequent and bloody contests with the Seljukian Turks, gave new animation to their hopes of revenge; and the Brahmins, actuated by a holy fury, against the fierce destroyers of their idols, endeavoured by every possible artifice, to keep alive the fire of that impetuous zeal that glowed in every bosom. At the head of this combination, as first in power and eminence, was the rajah of Delhi, who left that city with a most numerous army, that in its progress, multiplied itself in such a degree, as to sweep all before it. The recovery of the castle of Hussi was the first object of their attack. This they effected without difficulty; as no force which the Mohammedans had in that district, could resist the assault of so mighty an army. Tannassar, long defiled by the unhallowed footsteps of Mussulmen, again opened her gates to receive the devout worshippers of her numerous, but degraded divinities. The fort of Naugracut was the next object of assault, but being a more important post, was both more strongly fortified, and more vigorously defended. For four months the resolute garrison, expecting daily succours from Lahore, resisted with equal firmness, every hostile attack, and every overture for accommodation, from the besieging enemy. That the

ardour of the assailants might not grow languid during this investment, a story was propagated through the camp, to which the enthusiasm of those bigots, listened with extreme avidity, and which not a little contributed to their ultimate success.

It was reported that the rajah of Delhi had seen a vision, in which the great idol of Naugracut, whose image had been first mutilated, and then sent to Gazna by Mahmud, had appeared to him, and informed him, that having now revenged himself upon Gazna, he would meet him at Naugracut, in his former temple. The rumour of this vision, industriously spread far and wide by the interested policy of the Brahmins, drew from all quarters, the infatuated populace, who eagerly enlisted under the banners of a chieftain marching to battle by the command and under the auspices of heaven. By this pious fraud, the multitude were wrought up to such a pitch of superstitious frenzy, as rendered them absolutely irresistible, and the garrison of Naugracut, wearied out, and almost famished for want of provision, were at length compelled to capitulate. It is impossible to describe the general and frantic joy, which this event inspired, especially when the idol itself, or rather an exact representation of it, made at Delhi, and secretly conveyed by the Brahmins, under cover of the night, into the fort, appeared the following morning, conspicuously erected in the centre of the consecrated grove. At the sight of the idol, a shout of tumultuous ecstasy burst from the throng, who exclaimed, that their divinity was returned from Gazna. They then bore him on their shoulders in triumph, to his ancient temple; with circumstances of great pomp and magnificence, celebrated his restoration to his former honours; and renewed their pious vows with additional fervour.

The fame of this idol was henceforth so widely and generally diffused through that country, that thousands came daily to worship at his shrine, from all parts of Hindostan. Others came to consult him as an oracle, upon all occasions of importance, and no

expedition was undertaken without the sanction of the god. The mode of consultation was as follows : The person who came to inquire into futurity, after taking some dose of an opiate quality, administered by the Brahmins, reposed on the floor of the temple at the foot of the idol, till the morning, when relating his dreams to those artful priests, the chimæras of a heated and distempered brain, were interpreted by them to be the irrevocable decrees of destiny, productive of the fortune, and generally favourable to the suit, of the inquirer.

Animated by the success of the rajah of Delhi, the different rajahs that reigned throughout the district of Panjab, who, from being more particularly under the eye, were restrained from hostility, by a more immediate awe of their haughty tyrants, now began to assume bolder confidence, and openly set their masters at defiance. Three of those rajahs with ten thousand horse, and an innumerable army of foot, advanced to Lahore, and invested that ancient city. The Mohammedans, in defence of their laws, families, and effects, exerted all imaginable valour upon this occasion, during the space of seven months; defending the town, street by street: for the walls being decayed, were soon laid in ruins. Finding, however, that in the end they must be rooted out by this defensive mode of war, unless they had speedy succours from Gazna, they bound themselves by a solemn oath, to devote their lives to victory or martyrdom, and suddenly sallying out of the city, presented themselves before the enemy's camp in order of battle. The Hindoos, astonished at their unexpected appearance, or intimidated by the daring resolution they displayed, betook themselves instantly to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter, by the triumphant foe.

M. D'Herbelot relates this part of Indian history with some variation in point of circumstance and *time*, observing, that about A. D. 1044, the Indian rajahs, who had been vassals to Modud, revolted against him, united their forces, and, with their combined army,

marched to Lahore. But this confederacy, how formidable soever it might at first appear, was soon dissolved : the members of which it was formed, almost immediately after the commencement of the military operations, falling at variance amongst themselves. They even at last came to an open rupture, some declaring for, and others against Modud. The former of these finally prevailed ; for being joined by a body of troops, sent by that prince to the relief of the place, they fell upon the others with such fury, that they obliged them to submit to the sultan, and lay down their arms. By these exertions, the spirit of discord was somewhat allayed. The fire so universally kindled in Hindostan, was not, however, extinguished, till the following year, when, according to the same writer, the rebellious rajahs were finally reduced, and the conquered places, except Naugracut, retaken by the arms of Modud.*

The remaining part of this reign was spent in perpetual contests, between the emperor and the Seljuks, who now daily advanced in power ; and, in civil concerns, paid little deference even to the authority of the caliph himself. Impelled by this boundless thirst of conquest, they directed their march towards Gazna, and plundered the palace of Bust. In their progress, they were met by Togrol, the general of Modud, and were not only defeated in a great battle, but vigorously pursued in their flight, and driven from all the neighbouring region with disgrace. After this victory, Togrol marched against the Turcomans of Candahar, and defeating them also, took many prisoners, whom he brought to Gazna.

This fortunate general, however, inflamed with vanity, in consequence of his uncommon success against these restless enemies of the empire, in a succeeding expedition, undertaken against the same foes, reared himself the standard of rebellion ; but, his views

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 105 ; Herbelot, article Modud ; Abulfeda, Tom. III. p. 121 ; who only observes, eodem anno expugnabat exercitus Maududi, filii Masudi, filii Mahmudi, Gaznevidæ, COMPLURES INDORUM ARCES.

not being seconded with that ardour he expected by the troops under his command, he was, for the present, compelled to seek his safety in voluntary exile from Gazna. We shall, in a future reign, see him return thither in very different circumstances from those of a distressed fugitive. He was succeeded in command by Ali ben Ribbi, who, already celebrated for his valour, afterwards became more conspicuous through that inordinate ambition, which nothing but the sovereign authority could satisfy. Another of these aspiring chiefs was Hajib, who, in the course of two or three succeeding years, defeated the Seljuks, and other nations at enmity with the crown of Gazna, in several obstinate engagements, and was rewarded with high and distinguished honours.

These various successes of the Gaznavian generals roused all that latent fire, and kindled anew all that spirit of heroism which had originally marked the mind of Modud, and which neither time nor a long and painful series of adverse fortune could abate. The moment seemed at length arrived in which by a full and well-directed effort of its power, the dignity of the empire might be vindicated, and its ancient splendour re-established. Influenced by these motives, and resolved, if possible, to recover Chorasán out of the hands of its usurpers, Modud commenced his march for that province, by the way of Cabul, at the head of the collective forces of the whole empire. When the army reached Lowgar, they besieged the fort of Sancoot, where a considerable treasure was lodged. In this place the Sultan was seized with an afflicting disorder in his liver, which daily gaining strength, he was compelled to return, with the utmost regret, in a litter to Gazna : while that active and indefatigable enemy, the object of his expedition, having invaded Sejestan, rendered the presence of the imperial army, commanded by Rysac, the vizier, in person, necessary in that quarter. The disorder with which the sultan was afflicted, and which other Oriental writers affirm to have been a violent fit of the cholic, was of such a desperate kind, that,

in a week after his arrival at the capital, he fell the victim of it, and was numbered with his fathers in Heg. 441, A. D. 1049, after a reign of nine years.*

MASSUD II. FIFTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

That turbulent and ambitious spirit which, in the reign of the former sultan, began at intervals to manifest itself, now broke forth in the most undisguised manner, in the declared opposition of the generals Ali and Hajib, each of whom endeavoured to advance to the imperial dignity the creature most subservient to his own private views. The former, with remote though concealed intentions of usurping the crown, brought forth Massud, the son of Modud, then an infant of the age of four years, and placed him on the musnud. Hajib, on the other hand, to whom a great part of the army was devoted, enraged at not having been consulted in this measure, drew off with the forces attached to his interest, and prepared to resist with open violence both the pretensions of the infant sultan, and the assumed authority of his rival. The sultan he proposed was Abul Hassen, another son of Massud, who had escaped the resentment of the aspiring Ali, and being of mature age, seemed to possess an indisputable title to the supreme authority. With Hajib were united many of the ancient omrahs of the court, and Turks of noble extraction, who filled at that time the higher departments of the state, and could not brook being governed by a child of such tender years; independently of their just apprehensions of those civil dissensions too generally attendant on government during a minority. Thus was the kingdom rent asunder by two contending factions of equal power; impelled to action by a rival spirit of enterprize; and engaged in the same strenuous exertions to support the favourite candidate, whose cause they adopted.

Expectation did not long wait in suspense. The morning that

* Abulfeda, Tom. I. p. 133; and Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 108.

was to decide the fate of a vast empire rapidly advanced, and victory declaring in favour of Hajib, the unfortunate Massud was, after a reign of six days, deposed, and Abul Hassen, his elder brother, exalted to that imperial station, which at this crisis seemed equally fraught with danger and with glory.*

ABUL HASSEN, SIXTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

Abul Hassen, on mounting the throne of Gazna, to render his seat upon that throne more secure, immediately married the wife of Modud. In the mean time the vanquished Ali. resolved to distress the empire of which he was unable to obtain the government, in association with Mirik, an omrah of a rapacious and sanguinary character, broke open the royal treasury, and taking out a vast quantity of gold and jewels, fled, with a company of the slaves and some rebellious chieftains devoted to their cause, to Peishore. There they were joined by the natives, who flocked in great numbers to their standard, raised an immense army, and reduced Multan and Sind to their obedience; making, at the same time, a great slaughter of the Afghans or Patans, who, rushing from their mountainous regions, had taken advantage of the public disturbances, and ravaged the country far and near.

Whether the reigning sultan was unable or unwilling to contend with this formidable adversary does not appear from any accounts transmitted down to us; but he seems to have remained in his usurped authority over the provinces of Southern Hindostan without molestation, until the beginning of the ensuing reign of Abdul Reshid, or Abdalrashid, as it is more commonly written; who had sufficient address to allure him from those provinces to Gazna.

Abdalrashid was the son of Sultan Mahmud, and had been, by the order of Modud, imprisoned in a castle near Bust. When, previously to that prince's sudden death, his wazir, or vizier, Abdol

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 109.

Rysac, marched to repel the invading Seljuks from Sejestan, as has been before related, intelligence was brought him, during the expedition, that the master he served was no more. That faithful vizier, uninfected with the prevailing contagion of ambition, was willing to confer the crown where priority of birth seemed to determine its disposal, and actuated by these sentiments, immediately released Abdalrashid from his confinement.

While the contending factions at Gazna had successively placed the sceptre in the hands of Massud the Second, and the governing emperor, the party who espoused the cause of Abdalrashid was daily at a distance gaining strength, and in the second year of Abul Hassen's reign, with confident hopes, approached the capital.

The astonished sultan, to crush this new competitor for dominion, opened the inmost vaults of the treasury, and let the golden inundation flow widely through every rank of his subjects. But chiefly among the military classes his prodigality was displayed; and in a short period an army was collected that seemed fully adequate to his security.

An unbounded profusion of wealth, however it may gain temporary partizans, can never afford a lasting basis for success. Prudence and vigour, not gold alone, are necessary to the accomplishment of undertakings of high importance. These indispensable adjuncts to wealth on such a momentous occasion were wanted by the emperor, and however flattered he might have been by the representations of those whom his favours had conciliated, when the day of trial came his hopes were miserably disappointed. The event was, that Abdalrashid having reached Gazna at the head of an army, attached to him by nobler motives than those which animated the forces of his enemy, gained a complete victory over them, and immediately ascended the throne.

The unfortunate and fugitive sultan was shortly after seized by certain Zemindars of the country into which he had fled, brought

back a prisoner before his successful antagonist, and doomed to confinement in the fort of Didi.*

ABDUL RESHID, SEVENTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

This monarch began his reign about the year 1052 of the Christian æra. By various offers, he prevailed upon the disloyal Ali, who still reigned uncontrolled in Hindostan, to submit to his allegiance and return to Gazna. Over its extensive and important provinces he appointed Hajib, another chief of that name, governor, who had been very early and active in promoting his cause; and a noble army attended him to Lahore. That army was intended to operate against the fort of Naugracut, which was once more taken by assault, after a close and vigorous investment.

The singular success, the revolt and flight of Togrol, the former general of Modud, have been already noticed. During his absence from Gazna, his great military talents rendered him a desirable acquisition to any party with whom he chose to associate himself, and the reigning sultan had, in a particular manner, experienced the advantage of a union with him. Those talents for command, were again called into action, as soon as he had ascended the throne, and forgetful of his former baseness, the emperor sent him into Seistan, invested with powers beyond any former governor, and armed with authority, that in the end proved fatal to himself. After regulating the affairs of that important province, and having a fine army at his command, Togrol conceived hopes of reaching the summit of political eminence, and formed the blackest design the bosom of ingratitude ever harboured. This design was to march to Gazna, dethrone the monarch who had heaped favours upon him with so liberal a hand, and, without the smallest regard to the numerous descendants of the race of Subuctagi, ascend himself the

throne of the deposed monarch. The treacherous resolution was no sooner formed than executed. Gazna was invested, and the unhappy sultan with the rest of the royal family, obliged to retire into the castle for security. The imperial army being absent with Hajib, there were but few troops left in the city, and those by no means equal to its defence against the brave and numerous forces that assailed it. Togrol, having soon made himself master of the city, vigorously attacked the citadel, which he carried by assault, after a resolute defence on the part of the garrison. A scene of blood and horror now took place, that makes humanity shudder. The sultan and nine of the blood royal, were instantly put to death by command of the savage conqueror. Two only escaped the general destruction, Ferokhzad and Anca, the son and daughter of Massud. The former of these found means to make his escape; the latter suffered a severer fate, being compelled to wed the inhuman murderer of her race. He now seized upon the royal diadem, assumed the title of sultan, and summoned the distant governors to acknowledge his authority, and repair to Gazna to render him homage, as to their lawful sovereign.

Among the commanders called upon by this public test of obedience, to give their sanction to usurpation, was Hajib, the newly appointed governor of the Indian provinces dependent on the crown of Gazna, who, instead of submitting to so degrading a humiliation, returned an answer full of contempt, and breathing the bitterest reproaches for his bloody and perfidious conduct. At the same time, he dispatched other letters privately to the princess Anca, who burned with no passion for the tyrant, but revenge, as well as to the principal omrahs of the court, who he knew still retained their loyalty to the imperial family, and conjured them to attempt some method of ridding the earth of so abhorred a monster. So general was the detestation in which his treachery, cruelty, and ingratitude were holden throughout the empire, that the whole

nation was already ripe for revolt, and he was universally denominated Kafernameh, or the Ingrate. Little instigation was therefore, wanting to induce the courtiers to engage in any effectual project for their emancipation from so horrible a tyranny. Ten of the noblesse, men of the most determined bravery, immediately entered into a combination for this purpose. As the tyrant sate on his throne, in all the pomp of assumed majesty, to receive the compliments of the grandees, on the day that ushered in the new year, those virtuous patriots, under pretence of paying their submission to him in form, approached the mockery of majesty, and at one and the same instant drawing their scymitars, buried them in his malignant heart.

After this important transaction, Hajib arrived at Gazna with the army, and calling a council of state, inquired whether any yet remained of the insulted race of Subuctagi. He was informed, that in a certain fort there remained, still imprisoned, Firoch Zaad, Ibrahim, and Suja. These he ordered to be brought from their confinement, and it being agreed that fortune should decide by lot, who of them should ascend the throne, she favoured Firoch Zaad, who was accordingly raised to it, and received the allegiance of the enraptured courtiers. The reign of Abdalrashid comprehended only one year. He was not a prince of great capacity, but deserved a better fate. It is related, that Togrol being one day asked by an intimate friend, what induced him to think of aspiring to the empire, replied that when Abdalrashid signed the instrument by which he was created governor of Seistan with such ample powers, he observed that his hand trembled, from which circumstance he concluded, that he was destitute of that resolution and fortitude which are the necessary accomplishments of a great monarch.*

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 113. Abulfeda, Tom. I. p. 141.

FEROCH ZAAD, EIGHTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

Feroch Zaad, or Ferokhzad, immediately on ascending the throne, in the overflowing gratitude of his heart, gave the reins of administration into the hands of Hajib, who had called him from obscurity to empire. Jaffar Bek, the chief of the Seljuks, ever watchful of an opportunity to crush the power of the Gaznavian sovereigns, on hearing of the commotions that agitated the empire, seized upon that favourable opportunity to invade Gazna. He immediately advanced to that capital with a formidable army, and the Gaznavian general collecting all his forces, without reluctance issued forth to give him battle. The engagement was long and obstinate. "From the rising to the setting of the sun, the warriors on both sides laboured in the field of death, and though thousands fell at their feet, they seemed insensible of their own mortality." Victory at length declared for Hajib, while his enemies betook themselves to flight, leaving all their camp equipage and baggage on the field, to the conquerors, who returned in triumph to Gazna.

Animated by this signal success, which at once established him firmly on the throne, and evinced that the military ardour of the nation was not, as its enemies falsely conjectured, on the decline, Firokhzad, from being the assailed, became the assailant, and poured a great army into Chorasán. He was there met on the part of the enemy, by Callisarick, one of their principal omrahs, with a numerous force; "but the gales of victory again fanned the royal standards of Gazna," and both Callisarick and many other omrahs of high distinction were taken prisoners.

Wounded to the quick by this second defeat of his army, Jaffar assembled together the whole of his forces, and giving the command of them to his son Arsilla, a prince of great expectations, ordered him without delay, to engage the sultan. A vigorous action

immediately commenced, in which Arsilla, engaging with undaunted resolution, recovered the honour of the Turcomans, drove the enemy from the field, and took many of the omrahs prisoners in the pursuit. He did not, however, think proper at that time, to make further trial of his good fortune, and while the vanquished enemy took their route to Gazna, Arsilla returned to receive the congratulations of his father.

When the sultan arrived at his capital, he called Callisarick and all the prisoners of the Turcomans into his presence, bestowed upon each of them the honour of the kelat, and gave them their liberty. The liberated Turcomans returning home, represented in so strong a light, the humanity of the emperor, that the Seljukian prince, ashamed to be outdone in a virtuous action, ordered the prisoners of Gazna to be also released.

No other remarkable occurrences on record distinguished this reign, which was but of six years duration, till A. D. 1057, when the slaves of Ferokhzad, having been instigated to a conspiracy against his life, made an attempt to assassinate him in the bath. But the sultan having valiantly wrested a sword out of the hand of one of them, killed many, and defended himself against the rest, till his guards, alarmed by the noise, came in to his assistance; upon which, all the slaves were put to instant death. He did not, however, long survive this desperate attack upon his life, for the following year nature put a period to his earthly existence.*

IBRAHIM, NINTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

To the empire, or rather to the shadow of the great empire of Gazna, which its Seljukian enemies had now reduced to very narrow limits, succeeded Ibrahim, the son of Massud, the second sultan of that name. He was a prince remarkable for morality and devotion, having in the flower of his youth, amidst a paradise of pleasure,

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 115.

conquered all the sensual appetites, and added two months more to the Mohammedan feast of Ramazan, which he kept with unprecedented severity. He, at the same time, gave proper attention to the affairs of government, and the due administration of justice, and opened wide the hand of charity to the poor. This prince, we are told, excelled in the art of fine writing; and in the libraries of Mecca and Medina, there are two copies of the Koran, written with his own hand, which were sent as presents to the caliph. In the first year of his reign,* having received intelligence that Malec Shah, king of the Seljukian Turks, had collected a great army, with an intention to invade Gazna, Ibrahim, conscious of his own inferiority in the field, by a well-contrived artifice, diverted his hostile intentions. Not long after, he concluded a treaty of peace with those disturbers of the national tranquillity, ceding to them all the country they had seized, upon condition that they would not extend the hand of violence any further over his dominions. To strengthen this new alliance, he married his son Massud to the daughter of Malec Shah, and this politic measure seems to have secured the repose of his realm from that quarter, during the remainder of his long and prosperous reign.

Equally zealous with his ancestors, for the propagation of the Mohammedan faith, and determined, if practicable, to retain in subjection to his authority the conquests in Hindostan, he sent a considerable army into that country, and, in addition to those conquests, took possession of many places yet unsubdued by the Moslem arms. In A. D. 1079, he marched thither in person, and extended his conquests to the fort of Adjodin. This place being taken, he turned to another fort, called Rupal, which was built upon the summit of a steep hill. A river inclosed it on three sides, and a

* According to the date mentioned in Ferishta, but much later in this reign, according to other Arabian writers, for Malec Shah was not sultan of the Seljukian Turks, till after the death of his father, Alp Arslan, by assassination, about the year 1072.

small peninsula joined it to the other hills, which were entirely covered with an impervious wood, and much infested by venomous serpents. This circumstance, however, did not discourage the sultan from the attempt. He ordered several thousand hatchet men to clear away the wood, which they effected in spite of all opposition, and the rock being soft, the miners forced their way in a short time under the walls, which were brought down in ruins. The place was immediately taken, and the garrison made prisoners.

The sultan marched thence to another town in the neighbourhood, the inhabitants of which came originally from Chorasan, and were banished thither with their families, by a former king of Persia, for their frequent rebellions. Here they formed themselves into a small independant state, being encircled by impassable mountains, and had preserved their ancient customs and rites without intermarrying with any other people. Having with infinite labour cleared a road for his army over the mountains, the sultan advanced towards the town, which was strongly fortified. He was overtaken by the rainy season, his army was greatly distressed, and during three months, he was obliged to remain inactive before it. But when the rains began to abate and the country to dry up, he summoned the town to surrender, and acknowledge the faith.

Ibrahim's proposals being rejected with scorn, he commenced the siege, which continued some weeks with great slaughter on both sides. The place at length was taken by assault, and the Mussulmen found much wealth in it, and one hundred thousand unfortunate Hindoo prisoners, whom they carried bound to Gazna. Some time after, the king accidentally saw one of those unhappy men carrying a heavy stone with great difficulty and labour, to a royal palace which was then building. This awakened his pity; he commanded him to throw it down, and gave him his liberty: giving orders that it should not be removed, though somewhat inconvenient, from the highway where it was deposited, but remain there,

“ as a memorial of the misfortunes of war, and the compassion of the conqueror.”

Ibrahim's victories in Hindostan were so numerous and illustrious, that they obtained him the names of Al Modhaffer, and Al Mansur; that is, the conqueror and the triumphant. Notwithstanding, however, the frequent wars he was engaged in, he bore the character of a very charitable, just, and religious prince, and during the intervals of peace, was continually employed in building mosques, oratories, hospitals, and other edifices of national ornament and utility. After a reign of forty-two years, he died in A. D. 1088, leaving thirty-six sons and forty daughters, the latter of whom he gave in marriage to learned and religious men who frequented his court.*

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 125.

CHAPTER II.

Digression concerning the Seljukian Dynasty.—Its four great Chieftains, Jaffar Bek, Togrol Bek, Alp Arslan, Malec Shab.—Division and Ruin of the Seljukian Empire.—Massud III. tenth King of Gazna and India—a wise and politic Prince.—His Generals extend their Conquests beyond those of Mahmud, eastward.—Arsilla, eleventh King of Gazna and India.—His short Reign that of Blood and Turbulence.—Deposed by Sinjar, the Seljuk Sultan, and succeeded by Byram, twelfth King of Gazna and India—a liberal Patron of the Arts and Sciences.—Invades India twice with Success, but by putting to Death the Prince of GAUR, brings down upon himself the implacable Vengeance of the Sovereigns of that Dynasty.—Gazna taken by the latter, and Byram, in his Flight to Lahore, perishes the Victim of Grief and Despair.—Chosro I. thirteenth King of Gazna and India.—Makes the Indian City of Lahore his Capital. Gazna and its Inhabitants delivered over by its Gauride Conquerors, during seven Days, to boundless Pillage and Slaughter.—He rules the Indian Provinces in Peace—and dies after an inglorious Reign of seven Years.—Chosro II. fourteenth and last King of India, of the Race of Mahmud Gaznavi.—Attacked by Mohammed of Gaur, and besieged in Lahore.—That Capital, after baffling the Besiegers in two Assaults, is at length taken by Stratagem.—Extinction of the Gaznavian Power.—The GAURIDE Dynasty.—Mohammed first Gauride King of India.—Marches an Army into Hindostan.—Dreadful Battle with the Kings of Ajmere and Delhi.—Deserted by his Omrahs, and suffers a disgraceful Defeat.—The War renewed with rekindled Fury.—The Hindoos utterly routed.—Rise of CUTTUB.—Attack and Defeat of the Rajah of Canouge.—Benares and other Cities beyond the Ganges taken and plundered.—

Unsuccessful War in Transoxiana.—Attack and Defeat of the Gickers, or wild Mountaineers of Labore.—Mohammed Gauri assassinated by a Banditti of that Tribe, after a Reign of thirty-two Years.—Mahmud, second Gauride King of India—after a short Reign, conquered by the great Mohammed, Sultan of Charazm, who puts a Period to the Gauride Dynasty.

EARLY in the reign of Ibrahim, the last sultan, at no very distant interval one from the other, died Jaffâr Bek, and Togrol Bek, the founders of the great Asiatic dynasty of Seljukian Turks; those dreadful scourges of the Gaznavian empire, and relentless enemies of the house of Mahmud. The former had long reigned uncontrolled in Chorasán, where he died, bequeathing the ample domain which his arms had acquired, to his son, Alp Arslan, who himself, shortly after, made a conspicuous figure on the great theatre of his father's glory. The latter had, in the course of a long life, more widely extended his empire, having reared his victorious standards in the citadel of Bagdad, and exterminated the dynasty of the Boiades, which had continued one hundred and twenty-seven years possessed of the supreme regal authority. The glory of this conquest, however, was tarnished by the dreadful outrages and wanton barbarities committed by the Turks, of whom his army was composed, who carried fire and sword into every quarter of that renowned capital, and spared neither sex nor age; but in hopes of finding concealed treasures, sacrilegiously broke open and plundered the very sepulchres of the dead.*

Notwithstanding this tremendous violation of every thing dear and sacred in the eyes of Moslems, the conqueror was dignified by Al Kayem, the reigning caliph, with the title of Rocnoddin, or the pillar of faith; with his own hand he publicly invested him with the imperial robes; adorned him with the collar and bracelets of

* Mirkhond, apud Texeira, p. 289, 298.

royalty, and solemnly crowned him sultan of Bagdad. Thus highly distinguished, however, when a few years after, Togrol solicited in marriage, SEIDA, the beautiful daughter of the same caliph, he refused his solicitation, though earnestly repeated, thinking it too great an honour to mingle the blood of the sacred caliphate, with that of the despicable race of Turkestan, however exalted by fortune, and resplendent with military triumphs. This conduct in the caliph, occasioned many embassies and menaces on the part of the sultan ; and the former continuing obstinate in his refusal, the latter retrenched, by degrees, the revenues annually paid him, and forbade his officers to touch the public money. Thus reduced to the last extremity, the haughty caliph at last yielded, and the princess set out from Bagdad to meet her betrothed husband at Ray, the capital of Persian Irak, where the most splendid and magnificent preparations were made for her reception. But this bright prospect was suddenly overclouded, for on her arrival at that city, she found Togrol, her intended lord, had died some days before of a dysentery, so violent as to defy all the efforts of medicine.* The climate of Ray was indeed sultry and unhealthy, and a Persian poet, composing a distich on this occasion observed, “ that the country of Ray was an enemy to strangers, and that if its air did not occasion the sultan’s death, the predestined hour of his departure was come.” He was near seventy years old at the time of his death, and was succeeded by his nephew, Alp Arslan, in whose person centered the sole sovereignty over all the extensive dominions of the Seljukian empire. Togrol Bek was the Togrolipix of the Greeks ; was a prince deeply versed in the art of government, and on account of his prudence and valour, exceedingly feared by all the neighbouring princes.†

Although it was by no means my intention to mingle with this short history of the Gaznavide sultans, any extended account of the

* Al Makin’s Hist. Saracen. p. 276. † Herbelot, article Thogrul Beg, p. 128.

Seljukian emperors, yet as about this period the history of the latter is deeply connected with theirs, as well as with that of Asia in general, and as, in the end, the former empire was entirely subverted by the descendants of the latter, we cannot pass them over entirely unnoticed.

The sublime post of EMIR-AL-OMRA, or general of the omrahs, which had been enjoyed by Togrol Bek, was upon his death conferred by the caliph, on Alp Arslan. Prayers were likewise read in his name, and he was publicly invested with the imperial regalia, as king of Bagdad; and he was even honoured with the title of Protector of the Faith. In military ardour he by no means degenerated from his predecessor, and in point of success, was far superior, since he may be said to have obtained the uncontrolled sovereignty of Asia. He overthrew in a great battle, the sultan of Karazm, who had aimed at independence, and made the government hereditary in his family. In a still greater and more memorable engagement, he defeated Romanus Diogenes, the Greek emperor, in Armenia, at the head of 100,000 men, took him prisoner, and exacted from the miserable captive, by way of ransom, a million of crowns in gold, besides a vast annual tribute. Alp Arslan is also said, in consequence of this victory, to have got possession, among other rich plunder, found in the emperor's tent, of a pearl of great magnitude and exquisite beauty, valued at ninety thousand golden crowns, and known over all the East by the name of *the Orphan*. He afterwards added Gurgistan, or Georgia, to his empire, and finally met his fate, in attempting to conquer Turkestan, from the assassinating hand of an exasperated Charazmian chieftain, whom, after an obstinate resistance, he had compelled to surrender.

Alp Arslan, partly by hereditary right, and partly by that of conquest, was the sole and absolute monarch of all the vast tract lying between the Oxus and the Tigris, comprehending Persia, or Iran, in its fullest extent, and was justly esteemed one of the most puissant

potentates that ever reigned in Asia, of which Herbelot, from Khondemir records this remarkable proof, that there might be sometimes seen at the foot of his throne, no less than twelve hundred princes, or sons of princes, doing him the homage of vassals.

Malec Shah, whom his father with his dying breath had appointed to succeed him, though not the eldest son, was immediately acknowledged his lawful heir and successor, at the head of the armies which he had commanded; and the caliph of Bagdad, not only sent him the instrument of investiture, confirming to him the title and power of sultan; but he likewise added thereto, the sublime title of Commander of the Faithful, which the caliphs till then, had reserved to themselves, without conferring it on any other Mohammedan prince. Early in his reign, he conquered the whole of Syria, and, marching into Transoxan Tartary, defeated Soliman, its monarch, with great slaughter, and brought him captive to Ispahan, at that time the capital of his dominions. The Seljukian empire was, in his time, one of the most potent monarchies that had ever been erected in the East, extending from the borders of Egypt to a considerable distance beyond the Oxus. So high was his renown, an alliance with him was no longer deemed disgraceful. That honour which his predecessor so long refused his grandfather, was now solicited by the reigning caliph, Al Moctadi, the successor of Al Kayem; for he eagerly solicited and espoused the daughter of Malec Shah, a princess of the most transcendant beauty, on whose entry into the capital of Bagdad, such public rejoicings took place, as far surpassed every thing of the kind that had before occurred in the Moslem world. All the streets of the city were on this grand occasion illuminated with torches, and the caliph, to demonstrate his affection for his charming bride, prepared for her a most magnificent banquet, in forming the desert of which, according to an Eastern writer, cited in Herbelot, no less than 24,000 pounds weight of sugar was consumed.* Every

* See Biblioth. Orient. Art. Moctadi, p. 591.

other article of this most superb entertainment was proportionably grand. This auspicious beginning, however, did not secure to his marriage any lasting felicity, for two years afterwards the princess, in spite of her sugared nuptials, became acrimonious and spleenful, left Bagdad in disgust, and retired to her father at Ispahan, where she died. Malec Shah was not only a great warrior, but the friend of science, and the patron of literary men. During the excursions which he frequently made to every part of his extensive dominions, he caused many noble mosques, colleges, caravanseras, and hospitals to be erected; and repaired the bridges, high roads, and canals, wherever he journeyed. His charity was unbounded, and in administering justice he was inflexibly severe. Among other acts of piety and beneficence, he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca with incredible expense. Besides abolishing the usual tribute which the pilgrims paid, he laid out very large sums in building towns amidst the inhospitable deserts through which they passed, and ordered a great number of wells and cisterns to be made for their refreshment, and water to be conveyed to them from all sides. Such exertions are truly worthy of a great king, and they, as well as his great conquests, render the name of Malec Shah by far the most celebrated and revered of the princes of the Seljukian dynasty. Malec Shah, however, though he raised the empire to the highest point of grandeur it ever arrived at, consisting in his reign of Syria, or at least the most considerable part of that vast region, Mesopotamia, Fars, Kerman, the Persian and Arabian Iraks, Chorasan, Charazm, Rum, or Anatolia, Great Bokharia, the kingdom of Kasghur, or little Bokharia, extending to the borders of Tibet, and several other large provinces, yet in reality, he laid the foundation of its future destruction, by dividing it, even in his life time, among his relations and favourites, and permitting them to enjoy an unusual and almost an unlimited power in their several districts. These potent viceroys, by degrees, grew independent of the crown, and as many kingdoms

were formed on the ruins of the great empire to which they were formerly an appendage.

His vizier, Nizam al Molc, was not less celebrated than his master for wisdom and for valour. He had been originally preceptor to Alp Arslan, and afterwards acted in capacity of vizier to both father and son. For thirty years this great man, as well by the exertions of his pen and his sword, proved himself to be what his name implies, the defender of the empire. Presuming, however, too much in the decline of life, upon his unbounded influence with his sovereign, and exalted station, his conduct occasioned a warm expostulatory letter from the sultan, in which he demanded of him, "whether he were in reality his partner in the empire, or only his vizier." An intemperate reply of the vizier, in which he told the sultan that the empire owed its prosperity not less to the *inkhorn* of the vizier, than the *turban* of the sultan, caused his immediate degradation, and, not long after, he was assassinated by a slave, at the instigation of the president of the divan, who succeeded to his high office. Before the vizier expired, he wrote a letter to the sultan, couched in very different terms from the former, and highly becoming the situation of a great minister, whose period of glory was about to close for ever. After modestly enumerating his long services he observes, "I am now going to give an account of my administration to a greater sovereign than your majesty, the King of Heaven! I perish, in the ninety-third year of my age, by the dagger of an assassin. If I have had errors, forgive them; if virtues, reward them, by protecting my son." The palace of this great man was open to all learned and virtuous men, to whom, like his master, he always professed himself a patron; which is not to be wondered at, as he was himself, in a high degree, both learned and virtuous. Malec Shah survived his vizier only a fortnight, being attacked with a fever, the consequence of a surfeit at an entertainment after hunting, which, in a few days carried him off. In a Persian poem, composed

on his death, it is remarked, "The old vizier dies in one month, and the young king follows him in the next. The power of God discovers to us the imbecility of princes, to the end that we should adore him alone, the King of all, and not attach ourselves too closely to any thing mortal." The life of this celebrated minister, Nizam Al Molc, so famous over all the East, has been written by several of the best Oriental historians and biographers.*

After the death of Malec, the great Seljukian empire was rent asunder by the ambitious contentions of his surviving family; and four inferior dynasties sprang up from its ruins: those of *Iran* and of *Rum*, or the Greek empire (though still denominated *Rōman*) long upheld the grandeur and renown of the Seljukian name. The exploits of many of the warlike sovereigns of these dynasties are about this period intimately blended with the events peculiar to this history, and the reader on that account will doubtless excuse this digression in regard to one of the most celebrated and powerful race of conquerors in the annals, and on the plains, of Asia.

MASSUD III. TENTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

Massud, the son of Ibrahim, mounted the throne upon the decease of his father. Generous, hospitable, and benevolent, he was not less renowned for his justice than the soundness of the political maxims by which he governed. He revised the ancient laws and regulations of the state, and abrogating such as were thought unreasonable, substituted others in their place, founded upon more enlarged and generous principles. He took the daughter of Sinjar, successor of Malec Shah, king of the Seljuks, in marriage, which cemented between them a firm and durable peace.

Unlike that of his predecessor, his reign was the reign of peace in the western districts of his empire, and afforded ample leisure to his generals to extend their arms eastward in Hindostan, even

* Herbelot, article Selgiuki. p. 800, and Leb Tarikh. p. 41.

beyond the farthest boundaries of the conquests of the great Mahmud himself. They crossed the river Ganges, and having plundered many rich cities and temples of their wealth, returned in triumph to Lahore; which, being more remote from the Seljukian dominions, now became the favoured residence of the Gaznavian kings, and, in some measure, to be reckoned the capital of the empire.

After a reign of sixteen years, without domestic troubles or foreign wars, "he entered his eternal abode," in the latter end of the year 508, or A. D. 1114, and Arsilla his son, having imbrued his hand in the blood of Shire, the rightful heir, with the same hand assumed the sceptre and the diadem.

ARSILLA, ELEVENTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

The sanguinary mind that doomed a king and a brother to destruction, now exerted itself in acts of tyranny towards his remaining brothers. They were all cruelly and closely confined. One of them, however, Byram, evaded the vigilance of his keepers, and fled for protection to his uncle Sinjar, who, on the part of his brother Mohammed, king of Persia, then ruled the province of Chorasán. Sinjar instantly demanded the releasement of his nephews, and on the refusal of Arsilla to liberate them, advanced, with Byram, towards Gazna, to enforce that justice the usurper denied.

Alarmed at this hostile measure, Arsilla wrote letters of complaint to Sinjar's elder brother, the emperor Mohammed, requesting that he would command him back, and that monarch pretended an inclination to mediate between them; but Sinjar still continuing his march, convinced Arsilla that the sword alone must determine the point in dispute. Mehid, princess of Persia, the widow of Massud, at that time resided at the court of Gazna, and burned with secret revenge for the murder of one child, and the imprisonment of the others. With well dissembled affection, she prevailed upon the

deluded monarch to send her to negotiate a peace between them, and charged with a great sum of money, sufficient to re-imburse her brother Sinjar for the expense of his expedition. When arrived in the camp, she, by every effort in her power, animated her son and brother, to pursue without a moment's delay the expedition they had began, and delivered for the purposes of war and vengeance the money destined to purchase a dishonourable compromise.

Sinjar immediately marched from Bust in Chorasan, where he then lay, with 30,000 horse and 50,000 foot, and without opposition advanced within one pharsang of Gazna, where the army of Arsilla was drawn out in order of battle to receive him. The line of Sinjar was immediately formed, the horse were divided into squadrons, with battalions of spearmen in the intervals, and the elephants brought up the rear. Encouraging then his troops, he advanced slowly towards the enemy, who stood firm to receive the charge. "The shock was so violent on both sides that order and command yielded to rage and confusion. The gleam of arms that illuminated the field was soon quenched in blood, and darkened by clouds of dust that took away all distinction." At length the troops of Gazna were put to flight, and Arsilla, unable to renew the combat, fled with the remains of his army towards Hindostan.

Sinjar entered Gazna in triumph, where he remained forty days, and after having established Byram on the throne of that kingdom, returned to his own country. Arsilla, having heard of his departure, instantly collected all the troops in the Gaznavide provinces of Hindostan, and hastened back at their head, to recover his capital. Success crowned his expedition, till Sinjar, again marching to Gazna, drove him once more from its walls, and pursued his routed army quite into Hindostan. In that pursuit, his omrahs, conspiring together against him, in order to screen themselves from the vengeance of Sinjar, seized on the wretched Arsilla, and delivered him bound, to that prince, who, acting on the maxim of *blood for blood*, ordered

him to be put to death, after a short but turbulent reign of three years.

BYRAM, TWELFTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

Byram, who now, without a rival, succeeded to the throne of Gazna, was in every respect the counterpart of the malignant and blood-thirsty Arsilla. He was the friend of literature, liberal, hospitable, and benevolent. Under his patronage the famous Indian book of fables called *Killila Jumna*, pregnant with the soundest precepts of morality and policy, and replete with entertainment, was translated into Persian.

This book, Ferishta informs us, was sent previous to the dissolution of the Hindoo empire, by the king of that country, accompanied with a chess table, to Nushirwan, surnamed the Just, king of Persia. That prince's vizier, surnamed the Wise, was so well versed in all the Asiatic languages, that in a few days he translated the *Killila Jumna* into ancient Persic, to the astonishment of the ambassador, who imagined the Sanscreeet language was entirely unknown in those parts. But he could form no conception of the chess-board, as that game was, at that time, unknown in Persia. He therefore had recourse to the ambassador, who was esteemed the best player in Hindostan, to have this matter explained to him, who having accordingly discovered to him the principles, the vizier sat down with him to play. The first game he obliged the ambassador to draw; the second he chased his king solitary; and the third he gave him check-mate. The ambassador was so mortified to be foiled at his own weapons, that he would play no more. The same vizier then invented the game of backgammon, returning a set of those tables by the ambassador, who having related his adventure with the vizier, and given an account of the genius and government of Nushirwan, his master gave up all thoughts of an invasion, which he had been meditating against that king. The present of the chess-board

was intended as an experiment upon the genius of the minister, and to indicate that, in the great game of state, attention and capacity were better friends than fortune.

Byram, in the days of his prosperity, is recorded to have penetrated twice into Hindoston, chastising his refractory subjects and collectors of the imperial revenue. The first time he went to reduce Balin, who had possession of the government of Lahore, on the part of his brother the emperor Arsilla, whom he defeated and took ; but having pardoned him, upon swearing allegiance, he was again reinstated in his government, and the king returned to Gazna. In the mean time, Balin built the fort of Nagore, in the country of Sewalic, whither he conveyed all his wealth, family, and effects ; then raising an army, composed chiefly of Arabs, Persians, Afghans, and Chilli-gies, he committed great devastations upon the Indian independent princes ; which success so mightily inflamed his ambition, that he aspired at length to the empire. Byram being apprized of the intentions of Balin, collected his army, and a second time marched towards Hindostan. Balin, with his ten sons, who had each the command of a province, advanced to meet the king, as far as Multan, with a powerful army. A dreadful battle ensued ; but the curse of ingratitude was poured, in a storm, upon the head of the perfidious rebel, who, in his flight, with his ten sons and attendants, fell headlong into a deep quagmire, where they were totally overwhelmed, and every one of them perished.

The king, after this complete victory, settled the affairs of the Indian provinces, and, appointing Hussein to the chief command of the conquered part of India, returned himself to Gazna. He soon after caused to be publicly executed Mohammed prince of Gaur, who was son-in-law to the rebel Balin. *This, in its consequences, proved the ruin of the family of Gazna*, for Seif ul Dien, prince of Gaur, brother to the deceased, raised a great army to revenge his death. He marched directly to Gazna, which Byram, unable to

oppose him, evacuated, and fled to a place called Kirma, upon the borders of India. The fort of Kirma had been built by the Afghans to guard a pass in the mountains. The prince of Gaur, without further opposition, entered the capital, where he established himself, by the consent of the people, sending Alla, his brother, to rule his native principality of Gaur. Notwithstanding, however, every effort to render himself popular, at Gazna, the people, from long attachment to the imperial family, began to dislike his government, and secretly wished the re-establishment of their former king. Some of the omrahs, who were of the same principles, taking advantage of this favourable disposition, informed Byram of their ripeness for an insurrection, if he could by any means favour it.

It was now the depth of winter, and most of the followers of the prince of Gaur had returned, upon leave, to their families, when Byram, unexpectedly, appeared before Gazna, with a great army. Seif ul Dien being then in no condition to engage him with his own troops, and having little dependance upon those of Gazna, was preparing to retreat to Gaur, when the Gaznians entreated him to engage Byram, assuring him they would exert themselves to the utmost in his service. This was only a subterfuge, intended as an opportunity to put their design in execution. As the unfortunate prince was advancing to engage Byram, he was surrounded by the troops of Gazna, and taken. The unhappy captive was inhumanly ordered to have his forehead made black, and then to be placed on a sorry bullock, with his face turned towards the tail. In that disgraceful manner he was led round the whole city, insulted and hooted by the mob. He was afterwards put to the torture, and his head sent to Sinjar, king of Persia, while his vizier, Seid Mujud, was impaled alive.

When this news was carried to the ears of his brother Alla, his soul burned with rage and indignation. Determined to take a deep revenge, he instantly, with all his united powers, invaded Gazna.

Byram, informed of his approach, as readily prepared to receive him. He addressed him in a letter, and endeavoured to intimidate him by displaying the superiority of his troops, advising him not to plunge the whole family of Gaur into the same abyss of misfortune. Alla in reply, told him, that his threats were as impotent as his arms : that it was no new thing for kings to make war upon their neighbours ; but that barbarity like his was unknown to the brave, and such as he had never heard to have been exercised upon princes, the vicegerents of God. God, therefore, had forsaken Byram, and ordained Alla to be the instrument of that just, ~~that terrible~~ vengeance which was denounced against him, for putting to such an inhuman death the representative of the renowned, the independent, and very ancient family of Gaur.

All temporizing was now at an end ; Byram intrepidly advanced at the head of a numerous army, to give the invader battle. The offer was exultingly accepted by his adversary, and the bloody conflict commenced with great fury on both sides. At first the troops of Gazna, by their superior numbers, bore down those of Gaur ; till Alla, seeing his situation almost desperate, called out to two gigantic brothers, whose name was Chirmil, the greater and the less, whom he saw in the front, like two rocks, stemming the torrent of battle. He forced on his elephant towards Byram, these two heroes clearing the path of death before him. Byram observing him, stood aloof ; but his son Dowlat, accepting the challenge, advanced to oppose Alla. The elder of the valiant Chirmils rushing forward, with his sword ripped up the belly of Dowlat's elephant, and was himself killed by its fall. Alla, in the mean time, nailed the brave prince, with his spear, to the ground. The younger Chirmil, furiously attacked the elephant of Byram himself, and after inflicting many desperate wounds, brought the enormous animal to the ground. With it he also fell, and while he was rising from under the elephant's side, extremely bruised by the fall, Byram escaped

with his life, and instantly mounting a horse, joined in the flight of his army, which was now repulsed on all sides. The troops of Gaur, indeed, emulating the bravery of their leader, had made so impetuous an attack as to put all resistance at defiance.

Byram, with the scattered remains of his army, hastened towards Hindostan; but he was overwhelmed with his misfortunes, and sunk under the hand of death, in A. D. 1152, after a reign of thirty-five years. He was, upon the whole, a virtuous prince; though his precipitate severity, in the case of the prince of Gaur, cannot be reconciled to humanity or sound policy, and in fact, as before observed, caused the total downfall of the Gaznavide dynasty.

The extended reign of Byram was peaceable but inglorious; the empire had long verged towards its decline; and though he was a virtuous prince, he had not sufficient abilities to recover its decaying vigour. Sinjar, his uncle by the mother's side, the sixth emperor of Iran, of the Seljukian dynasty, sat upon the throne, in full possession of the empire conquered by his ancestors, when Byram became king of Gazna. The Indian provinces subject to Gazna, remained entire to Byram.

CHOSRO I. THIRTEENTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

Chosro, the son of the emperor Byram, upon the death of his father, continued his march to Lahore, leaving the kingdom of Gazna to his enemies, and was there saluted king, by the unanimous voice of the people. In the mean time, the enraged, the inflexible conqueror entered Gazna with little opposition, and that noble city was given up to the accumulated horrors, of flame, slaughter, rapine, and devastation. The massacre continued for the space of seven days, during which time, says our florid author, pity seemed to have fled the earth, and the fiery spirits of demons to actuate the bodies of men. For this act of atrocious cruelty the barbarous

Alla was thenceforth justly stigmatized with a title that signifies the Incendiary of the World. Insatiable in his revenge, this monster carried a number of the most venerable priests, learned men, and citizens, in chains to Gaur, to adorn his savage triumph. There, horrible to relate! he ordered their throats to be cut, tempering earth with their blood, with which he cemented the walls of his city!

After the return of Alla to Gaur, Chosro, in the vain hope of recovering his lost kingdom of Gazna, and depending upon the assistance of Sinjar, king of Persia, collected all ~~his forces~~, and marched from Lahore. But when he had arrived upon the borders of Gazna, he received intelligence that Sinjar had been defeated and taken prisoner by the Gazan Turks, who were then marching down with a great army to Gazna, to appropriate that kingdom also to themselves. This obliged him to retreat again to Lahore, since he was in no condition to oppose them. He governed the Indian provinces in peace, with the common justice of virtuous kings; and died A. H. 555, or A. D. 1159, after he had reigned seven years, with no great splendour; though he deserved and obtained the character of a peaceable and benevolent prince.

The Gazan Turks in the mean time drove out the troops of Gaur, and kept possession of Gazna for two years. But they were expelled in their turn by the Gaurians, who did not long enjoy it for that time, being vanquished by Assumud, general to Chosro, the second of the name, who, for a short space, recovered and held that kingdom.

CHOSRO II. FOURTEENTH AND LAST KING OF THE GAZNAVIDE DYNASTY.

On the death of his father, Chosro the Second ascended the throne, which he adorned with benevolence and justice, extending his dominions over most of the provinces formerly possessed by the emperors

Ibrahim and Byram. But Mohammed, brother to the prince of Gaur, with rage yet unsatiated, attacked and ravaged the kingdom of Gazna, which he wholly reduced, and not satisfied with that ample spoil, marched an army into India, over-running the provinces of Peishore, Afghanistan, Multan, and the Indus. He advanced at length to Lahore, and, in A. H. 576, invested the emperor Chosro in his capital, but finding it impossible to take that strong city, he entered into a kind of treaty with the besieged prince. Mohammed in consequence evacuated the country, carrying away Chosro, the son of the emperor, a child of four years of age, as an hostage for the performance of the treaty.

The terms of that treaty not being properly adhered to by Chosro, Mohammed, shortly after, returned to Lahore, and besieged it again with fruitless toil. He, however, subjected the open country to fire and sword. He then built the fort of Salcot, where he left a strong garrison, and afterwards returned to Gazna. In his absence, the emperor Chosro, in alliance with the Gickers, besieged the fort of Salcot, but that enterprise also proving unsuccessful, they were compelled to desist.

Determined to put an end to the dynasty of Gaznavide sultans, and to drive them from Lahore as he had already exiled them from Gazna, the following year Mohammed collected all his forces, and marched towards that vast and well fortified metropolis. But as he knew it was impregnable to external assault, he attempted its reduction by treachery, in the following manner. While he was preparing for the expedition, he gave out, that it was intended against the Seljuks, at the same time informing Chosro by letter, that he was desirous of accommodating all their differences, by a lasting treaty of peace. To convince him of the sincerity of his intentions, he now returned his son Chosro, with a splendid retinue, who had orders to make short marches; while the emperor, his father, impatient to see him, advanced a part of the way to meet him. In the

mean time, Mohammed, with twenty thousand horse, with incredible expedition marched by another route, round the mountains, and cut off Chosro from Lahore, having surrounded his small camp in the night. The emperor awaking in the morning from his dream of negligence, saw no hope of escape left, and was therefore compelled to throw himself upon the mercy of his adversary. The sultan immediately demanded possession of the capital as the price of the king's release. Accordingly the gates of that great city were thrown open to receive him, and thus without a blow did this vast empire pass from the house of Gazna to that of Gaur.

The year A. H. 580, or A. D. 1184, in which the family of Gazna became extinct, proved also fatal to the elder branch of the royal family of the Seljuks, settled in Iran. Disputes relative to the succession, and the weakness of the princes who reigned after Sinjar, combined to effect the ruin of an empire, which fell almost as suddenly as it rose. The governors of the Asiatic provinces, assumed independence with great facility, when their sovereigns had not talents of mind, or vigour of arms sufficient to counteract the power which the crown vested in its viceroys. Some governments, amidst the distractions of the empire, became hereditary, and many ambitious omrahs rendered themselves independent, in the debilitated reign of the second Togrol of the Seljuk dynasty. Among others, **TACASH**, the father of the great Mohammed, viceroy of Charazm for the Seljuk sultan of Iran, about this period, not only assumed the ensigns of royalty in his government, but, being warmly invited into western Persia, annexed that country also to his new kingdom, and by the defeat and death of Togrol himself, laid the foundation of the power and glory of the renowned **CHARAZMIAN DYNASTY**, which will soon take its turn to appear upon the ample theatre of this history.

THE GAURIDE DYNASTY.

MOHAMMED.

There is no necessity for us to trace back with Ferishta, who is very copious on this subject, the genealogy of the Gauride emperors, and of this particular prince. We have seen in the last reign, that, acting nominally as general for his elder brother, who sate on the Gaznavide throne, but, in reality invested with all the authority of a great monarch, he took Lahore the new capital of the race of Mahmud, by stratagem, and extinguished in the second Chosro, who, with his whole family, was shortly after put to death, that renowned dynasty. According to Ferishta, who must now, for a long time, become our principal guide, the attention of the Moslem historians of this period being almost engrossed by the history of the caliphs, and the various fortune of the Seljukian princes, Mohammed, after the conquest of Lahore, did not make its superb palace his place of residence, but gave the government of that city and province to Ali, viceroy of Multan, and returned to his brother at Gazna. In the year 587, or A. D. 1191, he is said by Ferishta, to have marched again towards Hindostan, and proceeding to Ajmere, that country so difficult to subdue, to have taken the capital of Tiberhind, where he left Malleck Zea, with above a thousand chosen horse, and some foot, to garrison the place. He himself was upon his return, when he heard that Pittu Rai, the prince of Ajmere, with his brother Candi Rai, king of Delhi, in alliance with some other Indian princes, were marching towards Tiberhind, with two hundred thousand horse, and three thousand elephants. Mohammed determined to return to the relief of the garrison. He met the enemy at the village of Sirauri, upon the banks of the Sirsutti, fourteen miles from Tan-nasar, and eighty from Delhi, and gave them battle. Upon the first

opset his right and left wings retired, being outflanked by the enemy, till, joining in the rear, his army was gradually formed into a circle. Mohammed, who was in person in the centre of the line when first formed, was told that his right and left wings were defeated, and advised to provide for his own safety. Enraged at this counsel, he smote the imprudent adviser, and rushed on towards the enemy, among whom he commenced, with a few followers, a great slaughter. The eyes of Candi Rai, king of Delhi, fell upon him. He drove the elephant, upon which he was mounted, directly against him. Mohammed rising from his horse, threw his lance with such force at the elephant, that he drove out three of his hinder teeth. In the mean time the king of Delhi, from above, pierced the Sultan through the right arm, and had almost thrown him to the ground; when some of his chiefs advanced to his rescue. This gave an opportunity to one of his faithful servants, to leap behind him as he was sinking from his horse, and supporting him in his arms, he carried him from the field, which, by this time, was deserted almost by his whole army. The enemy pursued them near forty miles.

After this defeat, and the recovery from his wound at Lahore, he appointed governors to the different provinces he possessed in India, and returned in person to Gaur with his army. At Gaur he disgraced all those omrahs who had deserted him in battle. He obliged them to walk round the city, with their horses mouth-bags, filled with barley, hanging about their necks; at the same time forcing them to eat, or have their heads struck off; the former of which they chiefly chose to do.

Upon the retreat of Mohammed, the allied rajahs continued their march to Tiberhind, which they besieged for one year and one month, and at last were obliged to grant favourable terms of capitulation. Mohammed remained a few months with his brother at Gaur, who still kept the imperial title, but not the power, and then

returning to Gazna, spent the ensuing year in indolence and festivity. But ambition again fermenting in his mind, he recruited a noble army, consisting of one hundred thousand chosen horse, Turks, Persians, and Afghans, many of whom had their helmets ornamented with jewels, and their armour inlaid with silver and gold. With these he marched in martial splendour, from Gazna towards India, without disclosing to his friends any part of his intentions.

When his victorious spears had advanced as far as Peishore, at the request of a venerable sage of Gaur, who bore almost a prophetic character, and implored the boon, he sent back an order to Gazna, to release the disgraced omrahs from their confinement, and that such of them as were desirous of recovering their honour, might now attend his stirrup. They accordingly obeyed the order, and were each honoured with a chelat, according to their rank. The next day the royal standard was put in motion, and the army advanced to Multan, where Mohammed conferred titles and employments upon all who had been firm to his interest. He then proceeded to Lahore, whence he dispatched Humza, one of his principal omrahs, ambassador to Ajmere, with a declaration of war, should the Indians reject the true faith.

Pittu Rai, king of Ajmere, gave a disrespectful answer to the embassy, and immediately wrote for succours to all the neighbouring princes. Nor did his allies delay their march, and therefore he soon advanced to meet Mohammed, with an army consisting, according to the lowest and most moderate account, of three hundred thousand horse; besides above three thousand elephants, and a great body of infantry. The Hindoos again waited to receive Mohammed upon the former field of battle. The two armies encamped in sight of each other, with the river Sursutti between them.

The Indian princes, of whom there are said to have been one hundred and fifty, in this enormous camp, having assembled, after

performing solemn acts of a religious nature, swore by the water of the Ganges, that they would conquer their enemies, or die martyrs to their faith. However, being lulled into security by an artful proposal of a truce from the invader, the Hindoos spent the night in riot and revelry, while he was preparing for a surprise. He accordingly forded the river a little before the dawn of the morning, drew up his army on the sands, and had entered part of the Indian camp, before the alarm was spread. Notwithstanding the confusion that naturally reigned on this occasion among the Hindoos, their camp was of such an amazing extent, that the greater part had sufficient time to form the line which served to cover the rout, so that now they began to advance with great resolution and some order, in four vast lines.

Mohammed, upon seeing this, ordered his troops to halt, and his army, which had been also divided into four parts, were commanded to renew the attack by turns, wheeling off to the rear after they had discharged their bows a certain number of times upon the enemy, and giving ground gradually as they advanced with their elephants. In this manner he retreated and fought, till the sun was approaching the west, when thinking he had sufficiently wearied the enemy, and deluded them with a security of victory, he put himself at the head of twelve thousand of his best horse, whose riders were covered with steel, and giving orders to his generals to second him, he made a resolute charge, and carried death and confusion among the Hindoo ranks. The disorder increased every where, till at length it became general. The Mussulman troops, as if now only serious in fight, made such a dreadful slaughter, that this prodigious army once shaken, like a great building, was lost in its own ruins.

Candi, King of Delhi, and many other princes, were slain in the field, while Pittu Rai, King of Ajmere, was taken in the pursuit, and afterwards put to death. The spoil of the camp, which was immensely rich, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and the forts of

Sursutti, Samana, Koram, and Hassi, surrendered after the victory. Mohammed in person went to Ajmere, and took possession of it, after having barbarously put some thousands of the unfortunate inhabitants to the sword, reserving the rest for slavery. But, upon a promise of a punctual payment of a large tribute, he gave up the country to Gola, the son of Pittu Rai. He then turned his standards towards Delhi, but he was prevailed upon by the new king, with great presents, to abandon that enterprize. He left his faithful slave and friend CUTTUR in the town of Koram, with a considerable detachment, and marched himself with the body of his army, towards the mountains of Sewalic, which lie to the north of India, destroying and plundering all the countries in his way to Gazna. After the return of Mohammed, his general, CUTTUR, who had been formerly a slave, raised an army, and took the fort of Merat, and the city of Delhi, from the family of Candi Rai. It was from this circumstance that foreign nations say, that *the empire of Delhi was founded by a slave*. In A. H. 589, or A. D. 1193, he also took the fort of Kole, and making Delhi the seat of his government, there established himself in security, obliging all the districts round to acknowledge the Mussulman faith.

Mohammed, in the mean time, marched from Gazna towards Canouge, and engaged Rai Joy, who was prince of Canouge and Benares,* and who commanded a very numerous army of horse, besides four hundred elephants. This prince led his forces into the field between Chundwar and Atava, where he received a total defeat from the vanguard of the Gaznavian army, led by Cuttub, and all his baggage and elephants were taken. Mohammed then marched to the fort of Assi, where Rai Joy had laid up his treasure, which in a few days he took; and found there, gold, silver, and precious

* Here we have a proof of what was hinted before, that the vast kingdom on the Ganges had two capitals, Canouge and Benares; they were once, probably, Canouge and Palibothra.

stones, to a great amount. He marched from thence to Benares, and broke down the idols in above one thousand temples, which he purified and consecrated to the true God. Here he also found immense plunder. Concerning, however, this attack and plunder of Benares, some further particulars will occur in a future page, under the reign of Cuttub, the first regular Mohammedan sovereign of Delhi. He returned then to the fort of Kole, where he again confirmed Cuttub in the viceroyship of India, and from thence, laden with treasure, he took the route of Gazna.

In the mean time one of the relations of the late king of Ajmere, whose name was Himrage, invaded Gola, the son of Pittu Rai, and drove him out of that subah. Gola immediately had recourse for assistance to Cuttub. Cuttub, without hesitation, in the year 591, marched from Delhi against Himrage, who, having collected a great army, gave the Mussulmen battle, in which he lost the victory and his life. Cuttub, after this victory, appointed a governor of his own faith to superintend the young Raja, then led his army to Narwalla, the capital of the province of Guzerat, and defeating Bim Deo, took ample revenge for the overthrow given to his lord. He plundered that rich country; but he was soon recalled, by orders from Gazna, and commanded to proceed immediately to Delhi.

In the year 592, Mohammed again formed a resolution of returning to Hindostan, and proceeded to Biana. He took that rich province, and conferred the government upon Togrol; then leaving with him the body of his army, he commanded him to besiege Gwalior, and returned himself to settle some affairs at Gazna. In the mean time, the strong and almost impregnable fort of Gwalior was taken, after a long siege. Togrol, flushed with success, and ambitious of extending his conquests further, now led his army against the Rajaputs of the south. But he received a terrible defeat, and was obliged to take the protection of his forts. In the year 593, Cuttub marched again from Delhi, and reduced Narwalla of

Guzerat, with all its dependencies. After his return, he seized upon the forts of Callinger, Calpee, and Budaoon.

Mohammed was in the mean time engaged in an expedition towards the frontiers of Persia. News was there brought to him of the death of his brother Yeas ul Dien, who, however, had long possessed nothing of the empire but the name. Mohammed, upon receiving this intelligence, returned to Gazna, where, according to the will of the deceased emperor, he was crowned in form; and mounted the imperial throne.

In the same year, he was informed of the death of Zireck, prince of Murve, and in the beginning of the next, marched to the conquest of that country, advancing by the way of Charazm, where Tacash, its self-made sovereign, not able to oppose him in the field, shut himself up in the city. The king pitched his camp on the banks of the great canal, which the Chilligies had formerly dug to the westward of that city. He immediately attacked the place, and in a few days lost many brave nobles in the pursuit of glory. In the mean time news arrived, that Aibeck, the general of the king of Tartary, and Osman, king of Samarcand, were advancing with great armies, to the relief of Charazm. Mohammed was so unwilling to abandon his hopes of taking the city, that he lingered in its suburbs till the allied armies advanced so near, that he was under a necessity of burning all his baggage, and to retreat with the utmost expedition towards Chorasán. The brave Charazmians, now rushing forth from the city, pressed so close upon his rear, that he was obliged to give them battle. He was totally defeated, losing all his elephants and treasure.

In the mean time, the confederate kings, who had taken a circuit, to cut off Mohammed's retreat, met him full in the face, as he was flying from the king of Charazm. Urged by this fatal necessity, he was obliged to rally his army, that now saw no safety in flight. Surrounded thus by the enemy, he commenced a desperate carnage.

But valour was overpowered by numbers, and of his late mighty army, there soon remained scarcely a hundred men, who still defended their king, and in spite of innumerable foes, with the fury of despair, hewed him out a passage, and conducted him safe to the fort of Hindohood, which was at a small distance from the field. Mohanmed was here besieged by the enemy, but upon paying a great ransom to Osman, king of Samarcand, and surrendering the place, he was permitted to return in sorrow to his own dominions.

When the emperor was defeated, one of his officers of state, named Birka, escaped from the field, and imagining the king was slain, with very great expedition made his way to Multan. He waited immediately upon Hassen, governor of that province, and told him that he had a private message from the king. Hassen retired with him into his closet, where the villain, whispering in his ear, drew out a dagger, and stabbed him to the heart. He ran instantly to the court-yard, where he proclaimed aloud, that he had killed the traitor, Hassen, in obedience to the king's command. Producing then a false order and commission, to take the government into his own hands, he was acknowledged by the army and the people.

The chief of the hardy and formidable tribe of mountaineers, called Gickers, at this time, hearing that the king was certainly slain, aspired to the empire, and raising a great army, advanced towards Lahore, kindling the flame of war between the rivers Gelum and Sodra. When Mohammed, from the fort of Hindohood, had arrived at Gazna, his own slave Ildecuz having seized upon the supreme authority in the city, presented himself to oppose his entrance, which obliged the king to continue his route to Multan. There Birka also rebelled against him; but Mohammed, being by this time joined by many of his friends, gave him battle, and, obtaining a complete victory, took the traitor prisoner. He then, with all the troops of the borders of India, who now joined his standard, marched

to Gazna, and the citizens, presenting him with the head of the rebellious slave, obtained their pardon. Mohammed soon after concluded a treaty of peace with the king of Charazm; and then, in order to chastise the Gickers, drew his army towards India. Cuttub attacked them on the other side with his army from Delhi, and the Gickers being defeated and dispersed, the king parted, at Lahore, with Cuttub, who returned to his government of Delhi.

During the residence of Mohammed at Lahore, another tribe of Gickers, who inhabited the country from that branch of the Indus which is called the Nilab, up to the foot of the mountains of Séwalic, began to exercise unheard-of cruelties upon the Mussulmen; so that the communication between the provinces of Peishore and Multan was entirely cut off. These Gickers were a race of wild barbarians, without either religion or morality. It was a custom among them, as soon as a female child was born, to carry her to the market-place, and there proclaim aloud, holding the child in one hand, and a knife in the other, that any person who wanted a wife might now take her, otherwise she was immediately put to death. By this means, they had more men than women, which occasioned the custom of several husbands to one wife. When this wife was visited by one of her husbands, she set up a mark at the door, which being observed by any of the other, who might be coming on the same errand, he immediately withdrew, till the signal was taken away. This barbarous people continued to make incursions upon the Mohammedans, till, in the latter end of the emperor's reign, their chieftain was converted to the Mussulman faith, by one of his captives. Upon this change of principles, he addressed the king, who advised him to endeavour to convert his people; and at the same time honoured him with a title and dress, and confirmed him in the command of the mountains. A great part of these mountaineers, being very indifferent about religion, followed the opinions of their chief, and acknowledged the true faith. At the same time, about four hundred thousand of the

inhabitants of Teraiba, who inhabited the mountains between Gazna and the Indus, were converted, some by force and others by inclination.

Mohammed having settled the affairs of India in peace, marched, in the year 602, from Lahore to Gazna. He conferred the government of Bamia upon his relation Baka ul Dien, with orders, that when he himself should move towards Turkestan, to take satisfaction for his former defeat, to march at an appointed time, with all the forces of those parts, and encamp on the banks of the Amu, where he would receive further orders, and at the same time to throw a bridge over the river.

The emperor, upon the second of Shabaan, having reached the banks of the Nilab, one of the five capital branches of the Indus, twenty Gickers, who had lost some of their relations in their wars against Mohammed, entered into a conspiracy against his life, and sought an opportunity to put their infamous purpose in execution. The weather being close and sultry, the king ordered the canats, or the screens, which surround, in the form of a large square, the imperial tents, to be struck, to give free admission to the air. This gave them an opportunity of seeing the king's sleeping tent. They cut their way through the screens in the night, and hid themselves in a corner, while one of them advanced to the door; but being there stopt by one of the guards, who was going to seize him, he buried his dagger in his breast. The groans of the dying man being heard within, alarmed the rest of the guards in the outer tent, who running hastily out to learn the cause of the disturbance, the other assassins took the opportunity of cutting their way through the hinder part of the king's tent. They found him asleep, with two slaves fanning him, who stood petrified with horror, when they beheld the assassins advancing with their drawn weapons towards the emperor. They at once plunged all their daggers in his body. He was afterwards found to have been pierced with no less than forty wounds.

Thus tragically fell that great king and renowned conqueror Mohammed Gauri, in A. H. 602, or A. D. 1205, after a reign of thirty-two years from the commencement of his government over Gazna, and three from his accession to the empire, the honours and titles of which he nobly permitted his elder brother to enjoy during his life. The treasure he amassed is almost incredible; he is said to have possessed in diamonds of various sizes alone, five hundred maunds; for he had made nine expeditions into Hindostan; returning every time, but twice, laden with its wealth.

MAHMUD, THE SECOND GAURIDE KING OF INDIA.

Mahmud, the nephew of Mohammed Gauri, was the second sultan of that dynasty, who was properly king of Gazna, though being of a timid and indolent disposition, he thought proper to reside at his capital of Gaur, and continue ELDOZE, (the same person called by Herbelot and Orme TAGEDIN-ILDIZ, which I mention to prevent the confusion resulting from a varied orthography,) that ELDOZE who had been one of the favourite slaves of his uncle, in the government of Gazna, to which he had been recently appointed by Mohammed. He also continued that other still more favoured slave of his uncle, CURTUR, in his Indian viceroyship, or rather kingdom, of Delhi, content with receiving from these as well as Nassereddin, governor of Sind and Multan, a large annual tribute, towards the support of that luxury and those pleasures to which he was so greatly addicted. Of a pusillanimous character like this, so different from his martial ancestor, no exploits worthy of record can be expected, and all we know of his fate is, that having, contrary to his general conduct, engaged in a dispute with Mohammed, sultan of Charazm, that puissant monarch marched an army into his territories, and made himself master of the thrones of both Gaur and Gazna; that afterwards, like his uncle, he perished

by the hands of assassins, who had privately entered his palace and murdered him in his bed, and that the remains of this last sovereign of the house of Gaur were interred in the great mosque of Herat, which his father had begun, and himself had finished.* These circumstances naturally and necessarily introduce to our notice, the Charazmian dynasty, not extended in time, but vast in power, and finally subverted by the great Gengis Khan, who, according to his biographer, at this very period, A. D. 1212, was storming the towers of imperial Pekin, preparatory to his consequent unbounded devastation of the fertile regions of southern Asia.†

THE CHARAZMIAN DYNASTY.

The chiefs of this dynasty, as has been hinted above, owed the origin of their power and splendour to the fall of the Seljukian sovereigns of Iran, whose governors for Mawaralnahr or Transoxiana, they successively were. By a series of perfidious acts, aggravated by the blackest ingratitude to their generous benefactors of that race, and finally by the slaughter of the unfortunate Togrol the Second, the last of its sultans, by Tacash, mentioned above as the father of Mohammed, in about A. D. 1193, they were exalted to their honours and their throne. Tacash himself was the sixth of the Charazmian dynasty, which, under his successor, rose to a point of power and splendour unrivalled at that time, by any power of Asia.‡

* D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* p. 361. Orme's Introduction, p. 11.

† M. Petit de la Croix, *History of Gengis Khan*, p. 109.

‡ Consult Abulghazi Bahadur's *Hist. Tartars*, Vol. II. p. 421. The author, himself was sovereign of Charazm at a later period.

MOHAMMED THE GREAT, KING OF CHARAZM AND INDIA.

In numbering this prince, and his son Gelaleddin, among the sovereigns of India, I mean western India, dependent on the empire of Gazna, I follow Orme and Herbelot, rather than Ferishta, who, from Mahmud Gauri, immediately hastens on to the history of CUTTUB. But as both Gazna and Gaur were conquered by the Charazmian monarch in the zenith of his power, we may be certain that the Indian territories annexed to those crowns, Cabul, Lahore, and other countries lying about the Indus, possessing no means of resistance, were for a time under his control. Cuttub, or Cothbeddin, was as yet but young in his assumed authority at Delhi, and it was the subsequent irruption of Gengis alone, urging the Charazmian behind, and driving him and his son before him, through Asia, that secured to Cuttub the undisturbed possession of the country properly called Hindostan, of which the new capital was Delhi. The consequences also of the irruption of Gengis, and the subversion of the Charazmian empire, upon the affairs of Asia, are of too important a nature, to permit us, in a general history like the present, to pass wholly unnoticed, the events that, about this momentous period, took place in its northern regions.

Mohammed, on the decease of Tacash, fired with all the ambition for glory and empire that distinguished his predecessors, immediately commenced the conquest of IRAN, or Persia at large, of which the Seljuks possessed only a part; that called the Persian Irak. He then successively seized on Chorasán, the ancient Bactriana, Gazna, Gaur, and Lahore, and afterwards added to his immense domain, the whole region of Mawaralnahr, or Transoxiana. He affected, in military concerns, to take Alexander for his model, and aspired like Alexander, to be master of the subject world. In the pomp and magnificence of his court, he surpassed all the preceding sovereigns

of the dynasties of Chosro and Seljuk ; a remarkable instance of which is given by his biographer, who records, that every morning and evening, at the gates of the palace, the drums of state were beaten by twenty-seven khans, or sovereign princes, with drumsticks of gold, richly inlaid with precious stones.*

His dominions to the north and east, were bounded by those of the great Gengis Khan, who, in the course of a no very extended period, had subjugated to his sovereign control the innumerable tribes of Moguls and Tartars diffused over the whole northern Asia, from the Volga to its most eastern extremities. The ravaged empire of China had already deeply felt the vengeance of this destroyer of nations, in the conflagration of her noblest cities, and the slaughter of her bravest youth. The vast plains of Turkestan were drenched with blood ; and to the rapid succession of barbarous victors that had, for ages, been desolating southern Asia, was now about to be added a despot more terrible than Catebah, and more sanguinary than Mahmud. Than the collision of two such mighty potentates as Mohammed and Gengis, nothing can be conceived more dreadful and destructive ; the one, absolute lord of an empire extending from the northern limits of Charazm, quite to the arctic circle ; the other, reigning equally despotic, over a tract of country commencing at the same boundary, and terminated by the gulph of Persia.

The real source of their quarrel must, to every reflecting reader, be evidently conspicuous in the character and views of the rival sovereigns, but as the lust of conquest and aggrandizement never wants a pretext to act upon, the following cause is assigned for their rupture, by the flattering historians of Gengis.

* Nisavi, a Persian historian cited by M. Petit de la Croix, *History of Gengis Khan*, p. 132. under A. H. 614. A. D. 1217.

GENGIS KHAN'S INVASION OF SOUTHERN ASIA.

Triumphant on every field where his banners had hitherto been displayed, they represent to us the emperor of the Moguls as content with his large acquired moiety of divided Asia, as anxious to cultivate friendship and commerce with the Charazmian monarch ; as sending successive ambassadors to announce these friendly sentiments, and confirming them by ample presents of the richest productions of his country. The stern, suspicious, unaccommodating nature of the sultan, led him to consider those presents as snares, and those ambassadors as spies. His haughty soul brooked not a rival, especially an infidel rival ; and secretly meditated that dreadful blow which, though it convulsed Asia, and plunged myriads of human beings into the abyss of eternity, he seemed to think deserving of the great Mohammed, in the full career and confidence of victory, to strike. The species of insult which he offered to Gengis, was of a nature never to be forgotten or forgiven. In every age, and among the most barbarous people, the character of an *ambassador*, the image of the sovereign, has ever been held sacred. The arrestation and murder, by his order, of three ambassadors and a caravan of peaceable merchants at Otrar, instantly became the bloody signal of a war interminable, unextinguishable, but by the death of one or of the other of the royal champions. Called upon by fresh ambassadors, dispatched by the policy of Gengis to demand an explanation of the fact, the sultan returned no other answer than a repetition of the daring crime ; and the heads of three other noble Moguls, severed by the sabres of his attendants, while delivering their master's commands, stained with blood the foot of the throne of the perfidious tyrant. Gengis, on receiving this intelligence, in the fury and anguish of his heart, is said to have separated himself for three days and three nights, from his family, and during that space, to have devoutly supplicated the assistance of heaven against a monster

black with so many crimes. It is added, but by a Christian historian, (Abulfarajius,) that on the third night, a person in the habit of a Christian monk appeared to him in a dream, and encouraged him to fear not, but instantly lead his troops to battle ;* a relation justly rejected by his more modern biographer, as unworthy a Christian monk, and the God of Christianity. The spirit that incited Gengis to arms was the dæmon ambition, and the vision which he beheld was the vast and beautiful landscape of southern Asia, full of noble cities, abundantly stored with the costly articles of a luxurious commerce reciprocal among various and distant nations, that had grown rich under the protection of the more peaceable sultans of the Gaznavide and Seljuk dynasties. Though plunder and aggrandizement were the real, the primary object of Gengis ; yet the murder of his ambassadors was a theme on which he neglected not to expatiate in terms of the warmest and bitterest invective, imparting in a bold and manly strain of eloquence, the fire and vengeance that glowed in his own bosom, to those of his sons and his courtiers. The battalions of his immense army were instantly put in motion ; the arms of the common men were the sabre, the bow, the quiver full of arrows, and the battle-axe. All the officers of this army were clothed in complete suits of mail, and their horses also wore breast-plates of iron, and other defensive armour, impenetrable by the arrows of the enemy. The positive order of Gengis was, that every man should fight in his station till he conquered or fell ; the flight of individuals or of single squadrons, was to be punished with instant death, by their nearest comrades. By a singular law of the military code of Gengis, it was ordained, that if *ten* commanders at the head of their combined squadrons, the whole army being divided into bodies regulated by that number, should think it necessary to *retreat*, they were at liberty to do so ; but smaller parties, by a retrograde movement, rushed only on inevitable destruction.† In this

* Abulfarajii Hist. Dynast. p. 28.

† Hist. Gengis, p. 153.

manner disciplined and armed, the soldiers of Gengis, under the command of himself and his four valiant sons, marched forth to battle, and on a review previous to the engagement, were found to consist of no less than seven hundred thousand men ; MEN, says the historian, of an athletic make, of high-braced vigorous sinews, impatient for action, breathing nothing but war and blood ; yet though fiery, perfectly obedient to their prince : MEN, who, unlike the dainty Moslems, could banquet on any kind of food, wolves, bears, and dogs ; MEN able to brave the rigours of every climate, and soundly slumber on a bed of flint.

Mohammed, without terror, heard from his scouts the details of their number and ferocity. He considered these savage hordes as utterly destitute of all true military science, and as unable to stand before the veteran conquerors of Persia, who had triumphed over the bravest nations of Asia, and who themselves amounted to four hundred thousand fighting men, being the flower of the warlike regions dispersed over the domains of this mighty prince in Iran, Transoxiana, Chorasan, and all the vast frontier of Western India. The terrible concussion of two such immense armies can be better conceived than described. It took place, according to Le Croix, at KARAKU, near Otrar, north of the river Jaxartes, in A. H. 615, or A. D. 1218, a memorable epoch in Eastern annals, being the date of the first grand irruption of the Moguls and Tartars into Southern Asia, and with such intense fury did the battle last, that the darkness of the night alone separated the contending armies. The ensuing morn discovered a sight horrible to humanity, one hundred and sixty thousand Charazmians, and a still more numerous body of Moguls, weltering in an ocean of human blood. A dreadful pause ensued ; the Charazmian army retired within its lines, where for some days it remained strongly intrenched, to avoid the hazard of surprise from the Moguls, and at length a retreat before so potent and still numerous an enemy was resolved upon, and effected. All the considerable

cities and strong holds of Charazm and Transoxiana were powerfully reinforced with fresh troops; and the sultan hoped to retard, at least, if not to weary out, the Mogul emperors, by the length of tedious sieges, and the desultory harassing attacks of a large flying army of horse, of one part of which he took himself the command, and gave the other to his brave son, Gelaeddin, who had gloriously distinguished himself during the late severe engagement. But Gengis had four sons, lions in courage like himself, and these were placed at the head of armies vast in numbers, and ever supplied with fresh recruits from the still overflowing tribes of the north. Opposition from a routed and dispirited army was utterly fruitless. Otrar, though it had been recently strengthened with a body of no less than sixty thousand troops, after a desperate resistance of five months, fell beneath the vigorous assaults of his sons OCTAI and ZAGATHAI. The subjugation of the other great cities lying on or near the Jaxartes, particularly the celebrated and well fortified city of Cogende, situated in about the latitude of $41^{\circ} 25'$, was committed to his eldest son TUSHI; and it must be owned, that if the besiegers shewed invincible courage in assailing, the besieged, in every instance, resisted with an ardour and an obstinacy that evinced equal loyalty to their prince, and love of their country. But the due reward of unsuccessful valour was not allotted to the unfortunate Charazmians by the ungenerous Moguls. After being despoiled of their property they were generally led forth to be butchered in cold blood, without distinction of either age or sex, by their savage conquerors, who, under the pretext of avenging the outrage and murder at Otrar, seemed to delight in 'shedding torrents of Mohammedan blood; unconscious of pity, and callous to all remorse.

While the three elder sons of Gengis were thus employed in the neighbourhood of the Jaxartes, Gengis himself, assisted by the warlike talents of his youngest son, TULI, was pressing forwards at the head of two hundred thousand men, to the reduction of Bokhara and

Samarcand, into both of which cities, rich as they abundantly were in the productions of nature, to obviate the dread of famine, the provident sultan had conveyed very ample military supplies, but particularly into Samarcand, an imperial residence, whither he had himself retired, and in which, on his subsequent retreat over the Oxus into Chorasan, he left a garrison of no less than one hundred and ten thousand men. As these renowned cities have, already, been the object of considerable and deserved attention in the history of a country to which they gave, in the family of Timur, (a remote descendant of Gengis,) a long race of illustrious princes, I think myself justified in being somewhat more particular in relating the events that occurred during their investment, and in sketching the sad catastrophe, under the unsparing Gengis, of the loveliest and most interesting region of Asia, equally the seat of commerce, and the nurse of the arts. The very term indeed of *Bukhar* is said, in the Mogul language, to signify *a learned man*, and Bokhara was of old celebrated through the East, for its university, in which the most famous poets of Asia were bred, and where the great philosopher and physician, Ebn Sina, or as we call him, Avicenna, had early and deeply imbibed the richest stream of genuine science. But the splendid bazar of commerce, the venerated mosque of religion, and the sublime temple of science, were doomed alike to bow the head beneath the barbarity of Mogul despotism.

Early in the spring of A. D. 1220, the siege of this important city commenced with the accustomed vigour of Tartar assault. The outer fortifications, described in a preceding page,* were quickly carried, and the beautiful suburbs destroyed by the trampling of innumerable cavalry. The whole garrison, shortly after, consisting of twenty thousand men, commanded by three generals of high reputation in the Charazmian army, one night made a desperate sally; but being repulsed with great slaughter, and, possibly,

* See of this volume page 200.

despairing by any future efforts to defend the city against such formidable assailants, after they had compulsively re-entered the city by one gate, escaped out of it by the opposite gate, trusting that their precipitate flight would be concealed by the darkness of the night. The due reward, however, of their perfidy to their king and the miserable people of Bokhara, was at hand, for the Mogul emperor, on receiving intelligence of their flight, dispatched after them a body of thirty thousand horse, who overtaking them on the banks of the Oxus or Amu, attacked them with such impetuous valour, that they were a second time defeated, and nearly all put to the sword

Distracted at seeing themselves thus wholly abandoned by those who were placed within their walls, on purpose to defend them, the citizens of Bokhara resigned themselves to the wildest emotions of grief and despair. Some were for instantly laying the keys of the city at the feet of the Grand Khan, and throwing themselves upon his mercy; others, dreading his well-known cruelty, and at the same time, willing to deprive Gengis of the honour of conquering the capital of Transoxiana, were for setting fire to all quarters of the city, and perishing on their swords, beneath the flaming ruins. A dauntless band of young citizens, headed by the governor, flew to the old castle, a fortress of great strength, detached from the city, which they fortified in the best manner the exigency of affairs would allow, and determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. While the remainder continued thus irresolute, Gengis, who was well acquainted with their distracted situation, was preparing to make a general assault, and already the vast battering rams were advancing close to the ramparts of the city, when on a sudden the gates were thrown wide open, and discovered a long train of magistrates, lawyers, and chief men of Bokhara, advancing in melancholy procession, to the tent of the emperor, earnestly imploring mercy and life; a boon which was readily granted on the express condition

of their never affording, within their walls, shelter to the bloody sultan of Charazm, nor concealing in their houses any of the officers and soldiers of his army. This injunction they bound themselves by a solemn oath to obey, and Gengis, the castle still holding out, entered the city in triumph, accompanied by his beloved son and general, TULI KHAN. As they rode through the spacious streets of Bokhara, the eye of Gengis was arrested by the almost unparalleled magnificence of the great mosque. He stopt, and inquired if that were the palace of their sultan? he received for answer, that it was *the house of God*. He then, according to Abulghazi Khan,* without ceremony, rode into the midst of the mosque, and, alighting, gave the reins of his horse to be holden by the principal magistrate, while he ascended the gallery where the Mullahs usually range themselves, and contemptuously taking up the Coran, threw the holy volume under the feet of his horses. The whole assembly was seized with trepidation and horror, when they beheld this profane act, and far more so, when Gengis having seated himself in the gallery, they beheld the soldiers beginning to eat and drink in that venerable sanctuary, as if it had been a tavern. He afterwards addressed the Moslem inhabitants in a florid speech, in which he told them, they must consider *him* as a scourge in the hands of the Almighty, to punish their nation, as well for their own crimes, as those of their perfidious prince, who had so inhumanly caused his ambassadors to be assassinated; that they had done wisely in furnishing his army with all necessaries from the ample magazines of the city, but they must do more than this, they must bring forth all their hidden treasures, and put them into the hands of the proper officers appointed to receive them, and as they valued their existence, avoid giving shelter to any of the soldiers of the sultan.

* Hist. of the Tart. p. 110. Fadlallah cited by Le Croix, says, he respectfully alighted at the door, and walked in; but the Khan of Charazm's account is more consistent with the ferocity of his character.

Bokhara being the centre of a vast commerce, the gold, silver, precious stones, and the quantity of gold and silver stuffs brought in, was immense in quantity and value; of this, one moiety was set apart for the royal treasury, the other was divided among the officers, while the common soldiers amply enriched themselves by the plunder of private houses and wealthy individuals.

But universal plunder and beggary were not the greatest evil that befel the inhabitants of this great and opulent city. The express orders of Gengis were, that neither soldier nor officer of the sultan's army, however dearly related to any of them, should be cherished under their roof, and that if one were found concealed within the walls of the city, it should be reduced to ashes. The tender ties of friendship or kindred had induced some of them to violate this command; intelligence of which being carried by some of his officers, who delighted in blood and plunder, to that insensible barbarian, in a paroxysm of rage he immediately issued the destructive mandate. The vast capital of Bokhara, except the palace, the citadel, and some other public buildings, being remote from any region whence stone could be procured, were constructed of wood; and fire being set at once to its several quarters, the whole city was presently in a blaze. The public edifices just mentioned, being of brick, alone resisted the boundless conflagration, that devoured the most exquisite labours of art, and desolated the loveliest beauties of luxuriant nature. So rapid were the flames, so wide and sudden the destruction, that the same sun, whose morning beam had illumined with glory the gilded spires and domes of one of the proudest and wealthiest cities of Asia, diffused its reluctant evening splendours over what was now little better than an immense heap of ashes.

Amidst this dreadful scene of devastation, the heroes who had taken possession of the castle of Bokhara still resolutely refused to surrender. The strenuous efforts of the whole army, together with those of most of the inhabitants, compelled by Gengis to act against

their fellow-citizens, were now, therefore, directed to that object. Pots of burning *NAPHTA*, and other combustibles, used in the barbarous warfare of that age, were, without intermission, thrown in upon them on every side; and at length the gates being in flames, they were compelled to admit the conqueror, who satiated his vengeance in the indiscriminate massacre of all the officers and soldiers that had actually been in the service of the sultan, and pardoned the others. Irritated by the resistance made by the garrison, and determined to leave no strong hold in his rear to thin his army and give him future trouble, he ordered the fortress to be demolished, and razed the lofty walls to the ground.*

* The preceding chapter, though the pages of it are not loaded with references, is the result of a diligent comparison of *Ferishta*, *where possible*, with the *Dynasties* of Abulfaragius, the *Annals* of Abulfeda, Herbelot's *Biblioth. Orient.* in the articles that treat of the *Gaznavian* and *Gauride* dynasties, the *Leb Tarikh*, and *Le Croix's Hist. of Gengis Khan*. *Ferishta* is the principal authority, and must continue to be so, for such details as are purely Indian. The other authors are the vouchers, under the respective years of the *Hegira*, for the Mohammedan irruptions. In so immense a field of history I find it absolutely necessary to *generalise*, since minuter details, and multiplied recitations would swell this *Work* to a magnitude inconsistent with my *PROPOSALS*.

CHAPTER III.

The Attack and Capture of the Imperial City of SAMARCAND, by GENGIS KHAN.—The Siege and Plunder of CHARAZM, and utter Subversion of the Charazmian Empire, by that Invader.—Death of Sullan MOHAMMED, and Defeat of his Son GELALEDDIN.—Detailed History of the first Dynasty of Mohammedan Kings of Delhi.

1. CUTTUB: originally a Slave of Mohammed of Gaur, he seizes on the Province over which he was appointed Governor, makes himself independent in that Capital, and establishes himself on its Throne.—2. ELDOZE, another Slave of the same Prince, establishes himself in his Persian Dominions, defeats Cuttub in Battle, and for a Time possesses his Throne.—3. ARAM, Son of Cuttub, a weak pusillanimous Prince, reigns for the short Period of a Year, and is dethroned by—4. ALTUMSH, a wise and warlike Sovereign, reigns twenty-six Years.—5. FEROSE I. a luxurious and effeminate Prince, after a Reign of six Months dethroned by—6. SULTANA RIZIA, a Princess of undaunted Courage, and great Talents for governing, but eventually dethroned and put to Death by—7. BYRAM II. a jealous and suspicious Prince, in his Turn dethroned by his Vizier.—8. MASSUD IV. for Injustice and Oppression, and other Vices, driven by his Omrahs from the Throne.—9. MAHMUD II. a Prince distinguished for Learning, Justice, and Temperance.—10. BALIN, as renowned for Valour, Generosity, and political Wisdom. Under him the Kingdom of DELHI reached its proudest Height of Glory.—11. KEI KOBAD.—His Reign and Character a perfect Contrast to that of the former Sovereign.—Effeminate alike in Body and Mind, he resigns himself to his Pleasures, and suffers the Empire to be distracted by Faction within, and by Invasion from without—

assassinated after a short inglorious Reign. In him became extinct the Line of Delhi Princes of the Gauride Dynasty, descended from CUTTUB; and to them succeeded the Princes of the Tribe of the CHILLIGIES.

ALTHOUGH the army of Gengis had experienced no considerable diminution in the course of the preceding attack, yet the forces which had been sent against Otrar, and which, about this period, triumphantly returned to his camp, under the command of the princes Zagathai and Octai, proved by no means an unacceptable addition to it, since it was his immediate intention to march against the widely-extended, well fortified, and imperial city of SAMARCAND. In this city, it has been already observed, sultan Mohammed, when he fled from it into Chorasan, had taken the precaution to leave a body of not less than one hundred and ten thousand men, independent of the numerous regular garrison. Of these sixty thousand were Turcomans of experienced bravery, commanded by generals of consummate skill; and among those Turks, says Mirkond,* were some who would not shrink back at the sight of an angry lion, or an elephant in its fury. The extent of the fortifications of this renowned city have already been, in part, described from Ebn Haukal; but above two centuries having elapsed from the period of his visit to that of the irruption of Gengis, it may not be amiss to add some further particulars, from the authorities cited by our author. He tells us, that the exterior wall or inclosure had twelve iron gates, a league distant from each other; that at every two leagues there was a fort, able to contain a large body of troops: that the walls were likewise fenced with battlements and towers, and surrounded with a very deep and broad ditch, through which an aqueduct was laid, conveying thither by leaden pipes the water of the Sogd, and thence into the city, which stood on the south side of

* Cited in the Life of Gengis, p. 222.

it: by which means every great street had a canal of water running through it, and every house a fountain, as well as garden. The inner city or inclosure had four gates, but the walls were defenceless; within it stood the great mosque or temple, and the superb palace where the prince resided. The outer inclosure of the city was of such extent as to include ploughed lands, fields, even mountains and valleys, together with an infinite number of gardens; and, in viewing the city from the top of the fortress, one could see nothing but lofty embowering trees, and the roofs of splendid edifices. *

On the arrival of Gengis, he ordered the city to be closely invested, which, being of so great an extent, could only be done by an army immense as his own. The line of defence and attack being so prodigious, at the various posts, numerous actions at one and the same time took place, which, from the number of the persons engaged, and the obstinacy with which both parties fought, might be denominated battles, considerable enough to decide the fate of kingdoms. A succession of these conflicts contributed greatly to diminish the number of troops on both sides; but their fury remained unabated: the engines, as fast as they were advanced to the walls, were thrown down, or set on fire; the ramparts were daily covered with the dead, and the ditch grew less from the number of the slain that found a grave in its watery bosom. Accident, at length, effected that which even Mogul valour would have found it difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. Among the innumerable multitude of various languages, nations, and sentiments, that had taken refuge within the walls of Samarcand, a spirit of discord very generally prevailed; a large party, actuated by the dread of certain destruction, should the Moguls take the city by storm, declaring themselves inclined to surrender up its keys to an enemy whom they deemed invincible; the other party, with Alab Khan, the go-

* *Life of Gengis*, p. 220.

vernor, at their head, confiding in their own number and valour, determined to hold out to the last extremity, and preserve unshaken their loyalty to the sultan, and their fidelity to that religion whose sacred mandate forbade the devout Moslem to yield to infidels the laurel of victory. Thus divided in sentiment, each party prepared to consummate its own plans. Those bent on resistance immediately fortified themselves in the castle, and seized on all the posts most advantageous for defending themselves, or annoying the enemy. Those inclined to capitulate, by a desperate effort, made themselves masters of one of the principal gates of the city, and thus obtained a certain channel, by which, whensoever they pleased, they might open a communication with the besiegers. Among these latter were the *cadi*, the *mufti*, and most of the great lords of Samarcand, natives of the country, who were naturally anxious to preserve, if possible, their estates from plunder, and their families from promiscuous slaughter. It was not long before they determined to make those humble submissions which they knew could alone prove successful with the haughty Mogul. The *cadi* and *mufti*, arrayed in their official robes, bore to his camp the repentant sorrows, for having so long opposed his invincible arms, of the citizens of Samarcand. They were received with benignity, and orders were issued that all those of the party, solicitous of peace and protection, were to march forth from that devoted city into a vast adjoining plain, where, on being mustered, they were found to amount to fifty thousand. A powerful detachment was immediately sent to take possession of the gate through which they had been permitted to retreat, and the most vigorous assaults, by the united army of Gengis, recommenced against the remaining garrison, who, greatly reduced in number, were now pursued from one strong hold to another, till after a continued contest of four successive days, the fifth morning beheld the brave governor of the few faithful bands who fought by his side, driven into their last intrenchment, where, seeing them-

selves beset by enraged foes on every side, and no hope of escape left, but in some desperate effort of valour, they unanimously came to the resolution of cutting their way, sword in hand, through the centre of the Mogul army, which at a favourable moment they successfully accomplished, after making in their progress an immense slaughter. About thirty thousand of the garrison, less resolute and intrepid than their comrades, still remained in different parts of the extensive lines, who, as the Moguls rushed in, like a torrent, at every breach, were instantly put to the sword. The whole city was then given up to unlimited spoliation; the men, women, and children were made slaves of, and divided among the great omrahs; and those who had already experienced the Khan's benignity, were obliged to pay, as their ransom, two hundred thousand gold dinars. At Samarcand there could not, on the whole, have fallen less than one hundred thousand victims to Mogul fury, and a circumference of twelve leagues, full of splendid temples and palaces, and rich in cultivated fields and gardens, was in a manner depopulated and rendered desolate.

Transoxiana, however large and beautiful a region, was only a province of the vast empire of the sovereign of Charazm. The kingdom properly so called, lay on the west of it, and for the reduction of it and its capital, Gengis immediately dispatched his three elder sons with the half of his army. The greatest preparations for the expedition were immediately made, and the siege of that great city commenced on their arrival, with the most active vigour; but its fortifications were immense; the garrison was numerous and brave, consisting of the flower of the troops of the whole empire. The struggles on both sides were great and animated; every foot of ground was obstinately disputed by the besieged; as the vast engines of attack successively approached the walls, they were overthrown or set on fire; the storm of arrows from the ramparts was incessant; and the atmosphere seemed on flame from the number

of fire-darts, and other combustibles hurled into the town by the besiegers. On this subject, the historian of Gengis enters into very extended details, which are not necessary to be repeated here. It will be sufficient to mention, that after sustaining an obstinate siege of seven months, in which prodigies of valour were performed on both sides, Charazm was taken, plundered and burnt, and that not less than two hundred thousand persons are supposed to have perished by the sword, or in the flames. From the capital, the torrent of destruction rolled on towards the inferior cities and towns of that kingdom ; Cath, Faraber, Dargan, and Corcange, places now scarcely known, but at that time highly populous and celebrated, and driving a great traffic with all the neighbouring provinces of Asia, bowed their heads in dust beneath the exterminating fury of the sons of Gengis.

But the devastation of the empire of his mighty rival, was by no means sufficient to pacify the fury of Gengis, or esteemed an adequate atonement for the outrage at Otrar. All the efforts of vengeance that did not reach and ingulph the guilty author, in his opinion, fell short of the mark. Having, therefore, received intelligence, that when Mohammed left Samarcand, he had fled by the way of the river Oxus to the country of Termed, resolved to arrest his flight, and, if possible, gratify his revenge by getting possession of his person, he sent after him thirty thousand picked soldiers, commanded by three of the most expert generals in his service, with express orders to pursue sultan Mohammed throughout Persia, if necessary, even to Derbend, or the *barrier*, at the foot of Mount Caucasus. “ Wherever, (said the enraged Gengis), he lies hid, seize him, and bring him a prisoner to my camp ; in your progress, if any prince, or people, offer to protect him, or arm in his cause, ravage their country, and give no quarter to them in battle. Molest not those who quietly submit and court our alliance. Trample down every obstacle that may rise to impede your march to the borders of

the Caspian Sea ; make the circuit of its unknown shores ; conquer the savage tribes that inhabit them, and join my army on its return, at Kapshak, in my Tartarian dominions.” *

Arduous and hazardous in the extreme as was this enterprise, it was nevertheless successfully accomplished by the vigour and perseverance of the generals employed. Separating in three distinct divisions, each at the head of ten thousand men, they first spread themselves over Chorasán and the countries bordering on the Indus, in search of their object, who, unable to make any effectual stand against them, continually fled before them, and in that flight traversed the whole extent of Persian Irak, trusting that, finally, he should either weary out or elude the pursuing foe. But that foe was neither to be wearied out nor eluded, and in their rapid course, sometimes pressed so close upon the fugitive monarch, that, while he was escaping by one gate of a city, the van of the Mogul army was entering it by another. The severe orders of the khan were rigidly executed on those who afforded him the least succour, or raised an arm in his defence ; and as Persia contained many loyal princes and governors, acting according to the predominant sentiments of pity or valour, the greatest part of their route was a scene of horrible carnage.

In the progress of his precipitate flight, and in the apprehension of being overtaken, having stopped at Bestam, a strong city and fortress of Taberestan, the sultan took Omar, the governor of the castle, and an old servant of his household, aside, and confided to his care ten caskets, closely sealed with the royal signet, which he told him were full of jewels, some of them of inestimable value. These he commanded him without delay to see conveyed to the still stronger castle of ARDAHAN in that country, which command was immediately obeyed. Relieved from the anxiety and incumbrance of this vast treasure, he proceeded with accelerated speed towards

* *Life of Gengis*, p. 230.

the borders of the Caspian Sea, in a small town, near the coast of which he passed some time in disguise; and, being at length taught by calamity to seek solace in religion, daily attended the public mosque, and poured forth many fervent vows and promises of amendment to heaven. His retreat, however, being discovered, the town was suddenly surrounded by the Moguls, and the wretched monarch had just time to elude their furious pursuit by hurrying on board a vessel, which the prudent caution of his friends had provided against this expected emergency. Scarcely was it launched from the shore, when the Mogul cavalry arrived at the spot; and in the impatience of rage, some of them plunged into the waters and were drowned, while others as fruitlessly discharged volleys of arrows after the receding bark. Conceiving that the sultan's intention was to take shelter in some port of his own kingdom, the western region of which, it has been observed, is washed by the Caspian, the pursuing generals immediately dispatched the swiftest messengers to the grand khan to inform him of the route he had apparently taken, and in consequence large squadrons of horse were ordered to line the shores, and search the towns of that now desolated realm. A far different fate awaited the miserable sultan, who exhausted equally with fatigue of body and distraction of mind, was seized with a violent pleurisy, which defied all the skill of his physicians, and compelled him to land at ABISCON, a small uninhabited island, lying in the south-west corner of the Caspian Sea, where humbled grandeur felt, and agonizing nature expressed, those pangs which may possibly, in part, expunge the crimes of inordinate ambition. "Alas!" exclaimed the dying sultan, "of all my immense empire are only a few cubits left for the interment of my lifeless body? How uncertain an abode is this transient world; how fleeting is life; how darkened by misfortune are its brightest prospects!" In this afflicting situation the unhappy king lingered for some days, during which his eldest son, the prince Gelaledin, accompanied by two of his brothers,

having obtained intelligence of the place of his retreat, came secretly to visit their dying parent. By the solicitation and intrigues of the dowager queen, who bore an implacable hatred to Gelaleddin, Mohammed, at a former period, had been induced to exclude him from that throne which was his birthright, and by a public act had nominated his younger son, Cothbeddin, as his successor. Relenting nature, however, now resumed her empire in his bosom, and before the few assembled nobles that remained in his train he solemnly revoked the unjust deed, girded on him the sword of empire, charged his younger sons to obey him, henceforth, as their rightful sovereign; and, animating him to attempt the recovery of a throne that but lately had surpassed in power and splendour the proudest of the recorded dynasties of Asia, dispatched him to that field of arduous contest, in which he afterwards obtained such high and deserved renown. A few days after his departure, under the cover of a wretched tent, erected on the shore to shield him from the inclement skies, in A. H. 617, or A. D. 1220, this mighty monarch breathed his last, and far from receiving the funeral honours due to departed majesty, had no distinction paid to his remains above the poorest Mohammedan. His dead body was uncereemoniously washed by a lord of his bedchamber, and, for want of linnen, was wrapt up and interred in the shirt and other vesture which covered him. On that shore long continued to moulder the corpse of Mohammed the Great; but, some years after, the sultan Gelaleddin caused it to be taken up and buried with great pomp in the fort of Ardahan.*

GELALED DIN.

The dying injunction and the sufferings of his father, added to the natural ardour of his own ambitious and enterprising spirit, roused in the young sultan those sentiments of revenge and glory that impelled him to instant, however unequal, contest with the

* Fadlallah apud Le Croix, p. 238. Abulghazi Khan, Vol. I. p. 131.

formidable invader of the empire of Charazm. Hastening to Nishapour, the capital of Chorasan, he immediately assumed the title of sultan, and the imperial regalia; and by means of the treasures deposited in ARDAHAN, which were delivered up to him by the governor, raised a considerable army, and was shortly after engaged in two actions with the Moguls, in the former of which he was victorious, but in the latter defeated, with the additional misfortune of having two of his brothers slain, and nearly all his men cut to pieces. Undaunted amidst this new calamity, he urged his way to Bost, a city of Sejestan, where he succeeded in raising a new army of 20,000 men. But Gengis had full 300,000 men with him, and with that comparatively small number could not be successfully opposed in the field. He was determined, therefore, to get possession of Gazna, a strong city and fortress, easily defended against a very superior force, but which, during the late distractions in the government, had, with many other cities, thrown off its allegiance. When, however, the brave son of their deceased sovereign appeared in arms at its gates, rebellion hid its hydra head; those gates were thrown widely open to receive him; and the inhabitants gladly enrolled themselves beneath his banners.*

In the mean time, the immense army of Moguls, under Gengis himself, was rolling on to overwhelm the more southern regions of Asia. Having passed the Oxus, he first marched to Balkh, on which city and its inhabitants, for having recently given shelter and protection to Gelaledin, he wreaked his severest revenge. Balkh was at that time one of the finest cities of Asia; full of monuments for ages erected by kings and nobles, of great magnificence and of exquisite workmanship, and among the rest, it boasted of no less than twelve hundred temples for Mohammedan and Magian worship, and as many public baths. These proud edifices were levelled by the unsparing hand of Tartar barbarity, and by the same hand all

* Le Croix's Hist. Gengis Khan, p. 302.

the inhabitants, being commanded to go forth into a vast plain without the city, except the very juvenile classes that could be sold for slaves, were inhumanly massacred;* at the same time the plunder, from the place being full of merchandize, was prodigious. Termed, Meru, Nishapour, and whatever other city had espoused the cause of that unfortunate prince, suffered the same dreadful fate; its wealth was plundered, its walls levelled, and its inhabitants exterminated. At Termed, in particular, the resistance of which city was more than usually protracted and obstinate, a new and dreadful species of barbarity was practised. A woman having swallowed a *pearl* of considerable value in hopes of preserving it, an enraged soldier with his sabre ripped up her belly to obtain it, and succeeded. His success induced others to be guilty of the like enormity; and multitudes were seen thus lacerated in various quarters of the city, exhibiting a spectacle horrible to human nature. At length, fortune seemed somewhat to relent in favour of the prince, and a ray of light, strong but transient, broke through the gloom of calamity that seemed on every side to surround him.

By the loyal zeal of the Gaznavians, powerful reinforcements were raised in his favour among that hardy and valiant people; and shortly after a Persian nobleman, named Amin Malek, joining him with ten thousand resolute Turkish cavalry, he laid aside his scheme of defence and hastened to raise the siege of Candahar, at that time surrounded by an army of Moguls. The governor was a nobleman of tried loyalty, determined, while there was a hope of relief left, firmly to hold out against the superior multitudes that invested the fortress. That resolution was cherished by a message secretly conveyed to him from Gelaeddin, that his deliverance was at hand. To effect it with the greater certainty, the two commanders resolved to fall upon the besiegers, who were far from suspecting any enemy

* Le Croix's Hist. Gengis Khan, p. 285; and Abulghazi Hist. Tart. Vol. I. p. 130.

to be in their rear, at the dead of night. The town had already been taken and plundered by those savage marauders, and it was with equal silence and intrepidity that the Charazmian troops ascended the height of that famous mountain on which the citadel stands, and penetrated undiscovered to their lines of investment. Arrived there they rushed upon them with resistless fury, and the garrison, at the same time, pouring down upon them from above, a terrible slaughter commenced; for the Moguls, struck with dismay and ignorant of their numbers, scarcely lifted up a weapon in their own defence, and were cut down by whole battalions. Scarcely a man of them escaped; and the booty which they had acquired in their march thither, together with a certain portion of what they had obtained in the plunder of the city, fell to the lot of the victors, and rewarded their toil and their valour. The city and fortress of Candahar were afterward completely repaired by Gelaleddin, and he returned with Amin Malek to Gazna, which they entered together in triumph; that nobleman, by the most solemn vows, engaging never to separate himself, or his troops, from the fortunes of the young and valiant sultan.*

Gengis received intelligence of this disgraceful defeat and slaughter of his troops, while he was carrying on the siege of BAMIAN, a strongly fortified city of Zablestan, ten days journey from Balkh, which had for some days withstood the whole of his immense force. He was extremely exasperated at it, as well as at the obstinate resistance of the city, which retarded his progress to Gazna. The assault was, therefore, now made with redoubled vigour; vast mounds of earth were thrown up and towers erected, commensurate in height with the walls of the city. The latter covered with raw hides of animals, daily killed in multitudes for the purpose, in order to prevent the effect of the wild-fire, and other combustibles, perpetually darted from the almost impregnable works of the vigilant

* Le Croix's Hist. Gengis Khan, p. 305.

adversary. At no place had he witnessed such undaunted valour or such unabated perseverance. To add to his fury, he was informed that Gelaleddin had been reinforced by thirty thousand fresh troops, collected and brought into the field by three Turkish princes of the adjoining districts, who, individually dreading the ferocity of a Mogul victor, united with Gelaleddin in one common plan of vigorous defence, and determined to conquer or die together. As it was impossible for the sultan himself to quit the siege of Bamian, he immediately dispatched KUTUKU, one of his ablest generals, at the head of eighty thousand men, in pursuit of them, or at least to watch them, and keep them in check, till the main body should be at liberty to act. Gelaleddin, however, hearing that the Mogul general had reached Birwan, a place within one day's march of Gazna, boldly resolved to seek them at the head of his forces, and, notwithstanding the inferiority of his troops in number, to give them battle. His army was eager for action, and glowed with all the ardour of their general. The prudent Mogul was by no means anxious for immediate engagement with troops flushed with recent victory, and would have gladly permitted that ardour to cool. He, consequently, began to throw up intrenchments at Birwan, within the lines of which he drew his army, and hoped to delay the action till the arrival of the khan in person. But Gelaleddin was too politic a general not to penetrate into his designs, and, marching up directly to the front of the enemy, prepared to force them in their intrenchments. The spirit of a soldier could not bear to be thus braved by an inferior force, and ambition and honour dictated what duty and prudence forbade. He marched out of his intrenchments, and intrepidly led his troops to battle.

The van of the Charazmian army, led on by Amin Malek, rushed to action with such resistless violence as to overthrow the foremost squadrons of the van of the Mogul, commanded by an omrah of distinguished valour; but Kutuku supporting them with fresh troops,

they renewed the attack, and, in their turn, routed that of the enemy. The sultan immediately caused his main body to advance, and, placing himself at their head, made an impetuous attack on the enemy's centre, in which Kutuku fought with rival heroism. The concussion of two such mighty armies must have been terrible, especially when it is considered that every individual, in the Charazmian army at least, breathed the spirit of his general, and knew that their ALL was at stake. Prodigies of valour were performed on both sides, and for several hours the event was doubtful. At length victory declared for the sultan; the Moguls, every where broken and dispersed, in great disorder flying to the mountains, sheltering themselves in the forests, and at the same time leaving on the field of battle an immense number of wounded and slain. Prisoners too were brought in multitudes, and, on this occasion, Gelaeddin, roused to vengeance by the wanton and continued massacre of his subjects by the Moguls, forgot his usual magnanimity; for after having caused them to be assembled in his presence, and severely upbraided them for their sanguinary atrocities, he ordered nails to be driven into the ears of those unfortunate people. A considerable booty was acquired, and ordered to be divided among the victorious troops, according to the laws of war. A general joy pervaded the army. The cause of injured kings seemed again to be befriended by righteous Heaven, and the most vigorous preparations were instantly commenced to follow up the blow, and to secure ultimate and complete success.

Intelligence of this second defeat of his troops having reached Gengis, he became almost frantic with rage, especially as he had lost in the engagement several excellent officers, on whose valour and conduct he greatly relied. He swore to take ample revenge for the loss on the people of Bamian, and on the sultan himself, if ever he should fall into his hands. He renewed the siege with tenfold fury, and in the violence of the assault a beautiful youth, the son of prince Octai, tenderly beloved by Gengis, while endeavouring by

superior exertions to merit the applause of his grandfather, was pierced by an arrow, shot from the walls of the city, and fell dead at his feet. The soul of Gengis was overwhelmed with anguish at the sight; but he repressed his own acute feelings to soothe those of the youth's distracted mother, promising her a most ample and sublime revenge on his murderers. And now the torrent of mingled passions that agitated his stormy bosom transformed the almost savage into a perfect brute. With promises of high reward, and lavish distribution of gold and silver, he animated the soldiers night and day to continue their operations, till at length, the walls being reduced to a heap of dust, they entered unresisted the desolated town. He gave it up, not to *their* fury, which might be tintured with compassion, but to the fiend-like rage of a provoked hyæna, the mother of the slain prince! Her savage orders were, and she attended in person to see them executed, to massacre every man, woman, and child, nay more, every living animal, within its boundaries; and so rigidly were these orders executed, that the bellies of pregnant women were ript up, and the infant destroyed, that there might not remain a vestige or a remnant of this miserable race. To all this was added the utter demolition of the mosques and every other edifice, public and private, in the place; so that ever after, to the time of Abulfaragius,* Bamian bore the name of MAN-BALIG, which in the Tartar dialect signifies *the unfortunate abode*. Such was the melancholy fate of Bamian, which Ebn Haukal, who wrote two centuries before Gengis, describes as a town half as large as Balkh.† According to Abulfeda, it was situated in the latitude of 34° 5', on a steep mountain, whose foot is watered by a river that, after various meanderings, falls into the Oxus. A castle, surrounded by strong walls, has since been built upon its ruins.‡

The vengeance of Gengis and his grand-daughter being now

* Hist. Dynast. p. 293.

† Ebn Haukal's Geography, by Ouseley, p. 225.

‡ Abulfedæ, Tab. Geograph. p. 19.

amply gratified by the destruction of Bamian, and the extermination of its inhabitants, impatient to involve Gelaeddin and his army in similar destruction, he immediately commenced his march for Gazna, and so rapid were his motions, that he scarcely allowed his soldiers time sufficient for the necessary sustenance and repose of wearied nature. When by these forced marches he had arrived at Gazna, to his extreme grief and astonishment, he found that the Charazmian sultan had left that city fifteen days before; for some dispute having unfortunately arisen between the officers of his army and those of the Turkish auxiliaries, that had recently joined him, the latter had, in the rage of disappointment, deserted him. Gelaeddin, therefore, unable, with his diminished forces, to defend the vast city and fortifications of Gazna, had been compelled to retreat towards the Indus. Those auxiliary bands had, shortly after, ample reason to repent the rash step they had taken, and when too late would gladly have rejoined the sultan; but Gengis having obtained intelligence of the dissention and their consequent retrograde movements, prevented that junction, by detaching no less than sixty thousand horse to seize upon all the passages of the mountains by which it could be effected. It remained for Gelaeddin, with only thirty thousand men, to wage an unequal contest with three hundred thousand of a brave, a vigilant, and a determined enemy.

His conduct proved him equal to all that could be effected by desperate valour on so trying an occasion. He chose for his station, on the banks of the Indus, a place where the nature of the country, mountainous and rocky, would prevent the enemy, consisting chiefly of cavalry, from bringing the whole of his force into action; and that no hope for safety in flight might be indulged by the less valiant among his troops, he contrived to fix upon a spot where the stream was most boisterous and rapid; ordering at the same time all the boats in the neighbourhood to be removed. After making these arrangements, hearing that the vanguard of the enemy had

arrived at a place not remote from his camp, called Hardar, though he himself, from the violence of an affection in his bowels, which had tormented him ever since he left Gazna, was scarcely able to bear the motion of a litter, yet he resolutely mounted on horseback, and selecting for the expedition the bravest squadrons of his army, at the dead of night marched to attack them, which he did with his accustomed vigour, utterly defeated them, cut them nearly all in pieces, without the loss of a man, and returned with an immense booty to his camp.

At this unexpected, this daring movement, from an enemy whom he considered as dispirited and fugitive, Gengis was struck with consternation, and, for the future, towards so vigilant an adversary, conceived it necessary to act with the utmost circumspection. At length, when the day of dreadful trial came, the khan drew up his army in order of battle, as follows: he gave to Zagathai the command of his right wing, to Octai that of his left, and reserved the centre to himself, surrounded with six thousand picked soldiers of his body guard, all men of veteran knowledge, of Herculean-strength, ardent in loyalty, and invincible in courage. On the other side, Gelaleddin, reserving also his centre for his own command, conferred that of the right on Amin Malek, and to his vizier consigned the left, drawn up under the shelter of a mountain, which prevented the enemy's right from acting all together, and charging in a body.*

The action commenced with a furious attack made by Amin Malek, at the head of the right wing, on the left wing of the Mogul, which he forced to give way, notwithstanding the vast body of troops by which it was sustained. The Mogul right wing also, from its situation before described, being pent up and unable to extend and exert itself, afforded an opportunity to Gelaleddin to employ detachments of his left wing, which was opposed to it, where wanted,

* Le Croix Hist. Gengis, p. 316. Abulghazi Khan Hist. Tart. Tom. I. p. 125.

in other parts of the field, for the relief of the weary, and the support of the weak. Against so expert as well as so brave a general, the full display of the great military genius and dauntless courage of the grand khan was now become absolutely necessary, and they were exerted to the utmost. One horse had already been killed under him, but quickly mounting another, he was seen riding from rank to rank, in every part of the field, encouraging his officers and men to do their duty, and not suffer the laurels they had so gloriously earned to be tarnished. In the mean time Gelaleddin, at the head of the whole body that formed his centre, strengthened by a large detachment from the left wing, broke in upon the centre of the enemy, who, according to the custom of the Tartars in battle, began those horrid outcries with which they wished to terrify the assailing foe: their present foe, however, was not to be so terrified; but by their resolute attack threw them into disorder, and with their sabres hewed themselves a broad path through the midst of their line, the sultan aiming to penetrate to the imperial quarters, where he thought Gengis remained with his chosen bands. That commander was posted where he could do his foes more essential injury; for, observing their left wing so greatly weakened, he ordered a general named BELA, with a considerable force, by certain bye-ways of which he was informed by a native of the country, to march round to the other side of the mountain which sheltered them, and to fall upon them behind. Between rugged rocks and dreadful precipices that general forced his way without much loss, and falling with fury on their rear, compelled the sultan to return to their relief. In his retreat he was pursued by Gengis at the head of the main body, by his exertions rallied again into order and discipline, while, at the same time, a large body of horse, that had not yet engaged in action, attacking his right wing, at one time victorious, but now nearly exhausted with continued and severe fighting, drove it also back, and secured the victory to the Moguls.

One part of the Charazmian army was driven into the river, where many were drowned, though some swam over in safety to the opposite banks; another part sheltered themselves from the pursuing cavalry among the rocks that line, in that place, the shore of the Indus. Gelaleddin himself, however, who with only thirty thousand men had now been engaged for ten hours in combat with an army of three hundred thousand, disdained to give over the conflict. A body of seven thousand valiant men still remained firmly fighting by the side of their prince, and these Gengis had surrounded with his army, which ranged itself in the form of a bow, of which the river Indus represented the string. Détermined, if possible, to take Gelaleddin alive, he forbade his soldiers to aim at him the destructive weapon; but the havoc made of those around him was dreadful. At length, the sultan deeming death or capture inevitable, having first ordered all his treasures to be sunk in the river, and taken an affectionate farewell of his family, throwing off the heavier articles of his armour, and mounting a fresh horse, resolutely spurred him into the waves, where most tumultuous, at whose furious raging the startled beast at first recoiled, but Gelaleddin urging him on, the noble animal exerted himself to save his master. Gengis, apprised of his flight, hurried down to the side of the river, and beheld him with astonishment braving the impetuous billows. But much more was he astonished when, regardless of his own safety, he saw him stop in the midst of the river to insult him, and discharge at himself and his retinue, though ineffectually, his whole quiver of arrows. Several of the brave and indignant Mogul captains would have plunged after him into the river, but Gengis would not permit them, and spoke in terms of the highest praise of his conduct and valour; adding, that *happy was the son who could boast of such a father!* *

Arrived on the opposite or Indian shore, Gelaleddin was joined

* Fadlallah apud Le Croix, p. 319; and Herbelot, article Gelaleddin.

by many of his officers and soldiers, who had crossed higher up the river, where it was less rapid and dangerous, and, their numbers continually increasing, he soon found himself again at the head of a formidable body of men, firmly attached to him, and ready to brave every danger for him. With these he is positively said, by Le Croix's authorities, to have made conquests in India, to have established himself at Multan,* and to have remained there till the year 1224; but his increasing power alarming the princes of the country, they united their armies, marched against him, and compelled him to recross the Indus. This is confirmed by Ferishta, who, in a future page, records his defeat, first, by ALTUMSH (the ILETMISCHE of Herbelot) at Lahore, and, secondly, by Nasir, on the western banks of the Indus, who pursued the fugitive prince "through Cutch and Macran, the maritime provinces of Persia."† He afterwards, however, recovered the sovereignty of a considerable part, and repeatedly beat the Mogul armies in the field; but was eventually betrayed and murdered four years after the death of Gengis, in A. D. 1231, in the province of Curdistan.‡ With him the line of Charazmian sovereigns became extinct. The Persian and hereditary domains of that dynasty continuing in the possession of the successors of Gengis, and those of India in the hands of CURTUB and his posterity, whose history we shall commence after a cursory survey of the events that befel Gengis, and the army by which Gelaeddin was defeated.

Gengis Khan's admiration of the undaunted courage of Gelaeddin did not prevent his basely putting to death all the males of the family of that unfortunate prince. By employing expert divers he recovered from the river the greatest part of the sultan's immersed wealth, and with it liberally rewarded his army, of whom twenty thousand had fallen in the last dreadful conflict, and, in all, two hundred thousand since the battle with the sultan's father; but the myriads that tenant

* Nisavi apud Le Croix, p. 333. † See page 401, succeeding where Ferishta is abridged.
 ‡ Le Croix Hist. Gengis, p. 377.

the vast plains of Tartary were ever ready to replenish his diminished ranks. He wintered on the frontiers of India, and probably would have passed those frontiers into that envied country, had he not received intelligence that his presence was become necessary in Tartary, for that the Chinese, in consequence of his long absence, were on the point of throwing off his yoke, and that the khan of Tangut had actually done so. In the spring, therefore, of A. D. 1222, he marched back to Candahar, which fortress he retook with little trouble; and thence very large detachments of his army were dispatched into Iran, as well as to take exemplary vengeance on Gazna and all the cities in that quarter, that had favoured the cause of Gela-leddin. The grand khan then continued his march towards Balkh, Bokhara, and Samarcand, or rather their dreadful ruins, which awaked no remorse in his flinty heart. With so numerous an army, however, and encumbered with such immense plunder, he reached not the last city till near the close of the year 1223. Here he issued orders for an assembly of all the princes and generals of his vast empire to be held at Toncat, a city of Turkestan, 250 miles north-east of Samarcand. On a plain adjoining to that city, seven leagues in length, but scarcely able to contain the infinite multitudes collected together upon its surface, were displayed all the spoils of his wars, and the utmost pomp of barbarous magnificence. We have not room to delineate the stupendous picture. Suffice it to say, that, after recovering Tangut by his arms, and awing China to peace by the terror of his frown, this great, this politic, but stern and sanguinary prince, being seized with a fever, the consequence of extreme grief for the loss of his most beloved son, Tushi Khan, expired on his march into the latter country, in the latter end of A. H. 623, or A. D. 1226, in the seventy-third year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. He who without pity had slaughtered above two millions of the human race, had made so many children fatherless, and so many fathers childless, yet could not bear the loss of one

son, though three remained to cherish his declining age : astonishing proof of exquisite sensibility and the most callous ferocity dwelling in the same bosom.* His successors in the various kingdoms of Asia will occasionally attract notice in our future pages ; but, particularly, that line of his descendants who reigned after him in Transoxiana, of which Zagathai was the head, and with which seems, unmitigated, to have been transmitted down their spirit of barbarity, their thirst of plunder, and their delight in human carnage. For from this particular branch, about a century and an half, afterward, sprang the inflexible TIMUR BEC, that second great scourge of Asia, and remorseless despoiler of India. From the bosom of Tartary emerged both these congenial savages, for savages they certainly were, both by nature and habit ; yet, astonishing as it may seem, both were the promulgators of codes highly celebrated in Asia : absurdly affecting to instruct mankind in the great principles of equity, while they themselves were daily outraging every principle of justice and humanity, and attempting to reform the world with laws, while they were constantly depopulating it with their merciless swords.

To return more immediately to India, our proper field of investigation, from all the preceding statements it is evident, that during the reign of Mahmud, and the whole Gaznavian dynasty, as well as during that of Gaur and Charazm, India boasted no supreme imperial head, no pre-eminent royal dynasty, no powerful prince, like Sandracottus and Bickermajit, to direct its internal concerns, or point its thunder against a foreign assailing foe. If that had been the case, he must have been conspicuously prominent on the great theatre upon which we have recently observed so many fleeting actors rise to glory, or sink in disgrace. If the Maharajah sate on the throne of Canouge or Delhi, his rank, and dignity, and power

* Le Croix's Hist. Gengis Khan, p. 381 ; Abulghazi Hist. Tart. Tom. I. p. 146 ; and Herbelot, under the article Gengis Khan.

could be only *nominal*; when the existence of the empire was at stake, he might take the command in the field, and be revered amid the danger and turbulence of war, but he possessed, in peace, no decisive power to controul the different factions that convulsed it from one end to the other, and had caused the partition of its provinces among the superior line of rajahs who headed them. Their unsatiated invaders from the western frontiers were, in fact, as long as their tyranny respectively lasted, the lords paramount of India; the tribute was regularly transmitted to Gazna and Gaur, by those Indian chieftains who chose to be at peace, and numerous armies of hardy Afghans were ever ready to march down from those mountains to punish the refractory. The Decan or southern peninsula was still unannoyed, and remained, with exception to some of the districts on its coast visited by the fleets of Egypt and Arabia, in quiet subjection to its ancient chiefs of Indian descent. Thus it continued till the reign of Ferose the Second, in A. D. 1293, when the ferocious Alla first devastated its peaceful and fertile valleys, and poured the storm of Mohammedan war on palaces and temples, till that time sacred from the violence of barbarian outrage. No dynasty ever wielded the sceptre of imperial power with more despotic sway than that whose history we are immediately about to record; a dynasty which sprang up out of the ruins of the Gauride family; and the fruits of their despotism are evident in the splendid misery and final massacre of most of the individuals that composed it. Some of them, indeed, were truly great characters; distinguished by exalted wisdom in the cabinet, and, in war, renowned for humanity and valour; but the picture, on the whole, exhibits a disgusting scene of royal perfidy and murder, combined with vulgar artifice and ingratitude, enough, one would think, to startle ambition in the impetuous career of blood, and cure the ardent fever of even Asiatic intemperance.

CUTTUB, FOUNDER OF THE FIRST MOHAMMEDAN DYNASTY OF KINGS OF DELHI.

Four other princes of the Gauride dynasty are enumerated in Herbelot. Their reigns were short, their actions not worth recording, and with India they have no other connection than receiving the tribute sent them, from Delhi and Multan, by the respective governors; governors, their panders and favourites, who, for the most part, had risen from the rank of *slaves* to the highest honours of the state. The most aspiring and distinguished of these was CUTTUB, (called by Herbelot, and Orme after him, COTHBEDDIN IBEK) who, we have already seen, had, by the consent of Mohammed Gauri, established himself in Delhi, where he founded the first Afghan dynasty of kings, who reigned in that capital, and over all Hindostan, till the invasion of Timur Bec, in A. D. 1398. We have, therefore, nearly two hundred years more to travel over before we can arrive at the commencement of the still greater Mogul dynasty, founded by Timur and his successors, in this part of Asia. Could I have had, as before, the benefit of the information and corroborative evidence of Abulfeda and the other great Moslem historians, I should have been tempted very much to prolong this portion of my labour, but till some more light than emanates from the page of Ferishta alone, shall irradiate this obscure period, I must content myself with selecting, as usual, the great leading events only in the reigns of these respective monarchs, leaving to those who may succeed me in this line of historical inquiry, and who may possibly, hereafter, obtain more ample materials, the task of filling up omissions, and correcting inaccuracies. During the whole of this dynasty, I shall have little more to do than to transcribe, with occasional alterations and emendations, the account of this writer, as given by his translator in no inelegant language, though, it is said, with considerable latitude of interpretation, a circumstance which operates

as a still farther inducement to me to persevere in selecting only the prominent facts of each reign.

After the decease of Mohammed, Ferishta observes, the unambitious character of the surviving princes of the family of Gaur afforded an opportunity to two of the imperial slaves to divide among them the vast empire, which Mohammed had been at so much pains to acquire, and to establish. The one, Eldoze, kept possession of Gazna and the northern provinces; and the other, Cuttub, the favourite friend and faithful servant of the late emperor, caused himself to be invested with the imperial regalia at Delhi. It will be proper to commence the history of his exploits in India a few years previous to the death of his master. In the year of the Hegira 589, (to which æra, as the history is Mohammedan, we shall now principally refer,) being the year after he had taken possession of Delhi, the Jits, or Jauts, (possibly the remains of the ancient Getes,) who were subject to the prince of Narwalla, in Guzerat, advanced with an army to besiege Hassi. Cuttub marched with his forces to protect it, and obliging them to raise the siege, pursued them to their own frontiers. In the year following, he crossed the Jumna, and took the fort of Kole by assault. He found there a thousand fine horses, and much spoil, and being informed of Mohammed's expedition towards Canouge, he thought proper to proceed as far as Peishore to meet him, presenting him with a hundred fine horses, and two great elephants, one of which carried a chain of gold, and the other a chain of silver. He mustered there, before the king, fifty thousand horse, and was presented with an honorary dress, and with the command of the van of the royal army.

With the van he defeated the prince of Benares, who, upon seeing his army retreat, pushed forward his elephant, in despair, against his enemy; but Cuttub, who excelled in archery, sunk an arrow in the ball of his eye, which brought him down from his elephant to the ground. It is said, that the number of slain was so great, that

the body of the rajah for a long time could not be found by his friends, who were permitted to search for it. But, at last, he was discovered by his artificial teeth, which were fixed in by golden wedges and wires. The emperor Mohammed, following with the body of the army, entered the city of Benares, and took possession of the country, as far as the boundaries of Bengal, without opposition. He broke down all the idols, and loaded four thousand camels with the most valuable spoils. Cuttub presented the king with above three hundred elephants, taken from the rajah of Benares.

Cuttub, after the departure of the king, remained some days at Hassi, where the rajah's treasure was found. He then returned to Delhi, and there received advice that Himrage, the cousin of the discomfited prince of Ajmere, was marching down in great force from the mountains of Abugur; that he had driven Gola, the reigning prince, towards Rantampore, in the eastern quarter of that soobah, and that Himrage's general was also marching, with another army, towards Delhi, before which he soon arrived, and began to destroy the country. Cuttub marched out of Delhi to chastise the latter, and separating twenty thousand horse from the rest of his army, he set out in front, and engaging the enemy, put them to flight. The enemy, some days after, rallying their defeated army, retreated towards Ajmere, and were pursued all the way by the conqueror. Himrage being joined by his general, in confidence of his superior numbers, formed his army in order of battle. When they came to engage, he distinguished himself by his bravery, as well as by his conduct; but being slain, his army took the path of infamy, and fled.

In the year 590, Cuttub turned his arms towards Narwalla, of Guzerat, and Setwan, the general of Bimdeo, who was encamped under the walls, fled upon his approach. But being pursued, he drew up his army, and fought till he lost his life, and then his army resumed their flight. Bimdeo, upon intelligence of this defeat, fled from his dominions, and Cuttub ravaged the country at leisure, and

found much spoil. He marched from thence to the fort of Hassi, which he repaired, and, after having visited Koram, returned to Delhi. He in the mean time received advice, from the governor of the districts near Rantampore, that the brother of Gola, prince of Ajmere, who lived in the hills, was marching down with an army to invade him. This obliged Cuttub to move immediately to his relief; but the enemy, upon hearing the report of his approach, fled; and Cuttub paid a visit to Gola, who entertained him magnificently, and, at his departure, presented him with some fine jewels, and two melons of gold.

About this time, tidings arrived at court, that many Indian independent princes had entered into an alliance with the king of Narwalla, and had formed a design to recover Ajmere from the Mohammedans. The troops of Cuttub being dispersed over the provinces, he was forced to march against the daring race of Rajapouts with that very small part of the army which lay in Delhi, to prevent their junction with the forces of Narwalla; but he was defeated, received six wounds, and was often dismounted; yet still he continued the combat with undaunted perseverance. Compelled at last, by his own friends, to abandon the field, he was carried in a litter to Ajmere.

Tittura, chief of the Indians, rejoicing at this victory, joined the forces of Narwalla and Guzerat, and sat down before Ajmere. Intelligence of this unfortunate event coming to the emperor Mohammed, he sent a great force from Gazna, to the relief of Cuttub. Ajmere held out till the arrival of the Gaznavians, who obliged the enemy to raise the siege. Cuttub pursued them to Narwalla, in the year 593, taking, in his way, the forts of Tilli and Buzule. He there received advice that Walin and Darapariss, in alliance with the king of Narwalla, were encamped near the fort of Abugur, to guard the passes into Guzerat. Cuttub, notwithstanding the difficulties of the road, and disadvantages of ground, resolved to attack them, which

he did with such bravery and conduct, that, having trodden down their ranks, above fifty thousand of the enemy, with their blood, tempered the dust of the field. Twenty thousand were taken prisoners, and an immense spoil fell into his hands.

When he had given his army some respite from slaughter and fatigue, he pursued his route into Guzerat, and ravaged that country without further opposition, taking the city of Narwalla, where an omrah with a strong garrison was left. He then returned to Delhi, by the way of Ajmere, and sent a great quantity of jewels and gold, and also many slaves, to Mohammed, at Gazna, and divided the remainder among his trusty partners in the glories of the field. In the year 599, he mustered his forces, and marched to the siege of Callinger, where he was met by Gola, the tributary prince of that country, whom he defeated; and dismounting his cavalry, began to besiege him in his fort. Gola, seeing himself hard pressed, offered Cuttub the same tribute and presents which his ancestors had formerly paid to the emperor Mahmud. The proposal was accepted, but the vizier, who wanted to hold out without coming to any terms, found means to make away with the rajah, while the presents were preparing to be sent. The flag of hostility was again hoisted upon the fort, and the siege recommenced. The place, however, was in a short time reduced, on account of the drying up of a spring upon that hill whereon the fort stood, and which supplied the garrison with water.

When Mohammed of Gaur, after his defeat in Turkestan, returned to India, he was joined by Cuttub, by whose valour and fidelity he defeated the Gickers in several actions, and recovered his fallen glory. When matters were peaceably settled in this quarter, he returned to his government; and the emperor, upon his way to Gazna, was inhumanly assassinated by the Gickers. Mohammed's nephew, Mahmud, assumed the imperial titles at Gaur, and upon his accession, sent all the ensigns of royalty, a throne, an umbrella,

standards, drums, and the title of king, to Cuttub, desirous of retaining him in his interest, as he was by no means able to oppose his power.

Cuttub received those dignities with a proper respect, at Lahore, where he ascended the throne in the year 602; returning from thence in a few days to Delhi. In the mean time, Eldoze, who still retained Gazna, marched from that capital, with an intention to take Lahore, which he effected by the treachery of the governor. Cuttub advanced to dispute the point with Eldoze, as soon as he received intelligence at Delhi of this transaction. The year 603 was consumed on both sides in a series of desperate contests for the mastership of that great and rich city. Victory finally declared for Cuttub. Eldoze was beaten out of the city, and obliged to fly towards Kirman. Cuttub pursued him as far as Gazna, in which city he caused himself to be again crowned, taking that kingdom into his own hands.

Cuttub, after this, unaccountably gave himself up to wine and pleasure, till the citizens of Gazna, disgusted with his luxury and indolence, sent privately to Eldoze, acquainting him of the king's negligence, and intreating his return. Eldoze, upon this, recruiting an army with the utmost secrecy and expedition, advanced towards Gazna, and in a manner surprised Cuttub, who was so buried in intemperance, that he had no intelligence of his design till the day before his arrival. It was now too late to put himself in a proper state of defence, and he was obliged to abandon the kingdom, and retire to Lahore. He then became sensible of his own weakness, repented of his evil habits, and exercised himself in the practice of justice, temperance, and morality. He regulated his kingdoms according to the best laws of policy and wisdom till his death, in the year 607, (A. D. 1210,) which happened by a fall from his horse in a match at ball, which adverse parties endeavoured to carry off on the point of their spears.

ELDOZE.

The origin, and much of the history, of Eldoze has been already given. His protector, Mohammed Gauri, having observed him to be a youth of genius, advanced him gradually, till at last he bestowed upon him the government of Kirma and Shinoran, which lay between Gazna and India. His situation gave him an opportunity of frequently entertaining his prince, upon his expeditions to and from that country, which he always did with great magnificence and festivity, making presents to all the king's attendants.

Mohammed, in his last expedition, favoured Eldoze so much, that he bestowed upon him the black standard of the kingdom of Gazna, by this intimating his will, that he should succeed to that throne. But, upon the death of that monarch, the Turkish omrahs were desirous that Mahmud, the son of the former emperor, should come from Gaur and reign at Gazna. Mahmud being a man of an indolent disposition declined it; and said, that he was content with the throne of his ancestors. He, however, assumed the imperial title, proclaimed Eldoze king of Gazna, and was content to maintain the appearance of that power which he would not, or rather durst not, enforce.

The first exploit Eldoze attempted after his accession, was, we have seen, to cross the Indus, and invade Punjab and Lahore. He was defeated by Cuttub, and in consequence lost his own kingdom; which, however, he shortly after recovered. In conjunction with the emperor Mahmud of Gaur, he then sent an army to Herat, which they conquered, as also a great part of Sejestan, but making peace with the prince of that country, they returned. On the way, making war upon the great Mohammed, sultan of Charazm, they were both defeated, and the conqueror pursuing his fortune, took Gazna, while Eldoze retired to Kirma, his former government, on the borders of India. Eldoze, finding the northern troops too hardy

for him to contend with, recruited an army, and marched, some time after the death of Cuttub, with a view to conquer India. But, after reducing some of the northern provinces, he was defeated near Delhi, by the emperor Altumsh, and being taken, died in confinement. The time of his reign was nine years.

ARAM.

After the death of Cuttub, his son Aram mounted the throne of Delhi; but was in no degree equal to the government of so great an empire. Nasir, one of the adopted slaves of Mohammed Gauri, marched with an army towards Sind, which he conquered, as also Multan, Ouch, Shinoran, and other places. Another slave, Mohammed of Chilligi, possessed himself of the kingdom of Bengal, and asserted his own independence. At the same time, several dependent princes blew up the flame of rebellion in many other parts of the empire.

Upon these misfortunes the great omrahs of the court of Delhi becoming extremely discontented, sent a person to invite Altumsh, who was the son-in-law and adopted son of Cuttub, and then governor of Budaon,* to ascend the throne. Altumsh accordingly marched with his army to Delhi, and, by means of the co-operation of the faction within, easily reduced it. Aram, afraid of trusting himself in his capital, had previously withdrawn into the country, recruited a fine army, and advanced to give Altumsh battle. A warm engagement ensued in sight of the city. Aram lost the victory and his empire, which he had enjoyed scarcely one year.

ALTUMSH.

Altumsh, the adopted slave, had married the daughter of Cuttub, and upon his death, as above related, he advanced against the capital,

* The country beyond the Ganges, NE from Delhi, now possessed by the Rohillas.

and, expelling Aram from the throne, in the year 607 declared himself emperor. Upon his accession he was acknowledged by many chiefs and princes; but some of his generals taking disgust, went off with the greater part of the Turkish horse, which were the flower of his army. They joined themselves with other malecontents, and advanced with a great force towards Delhi. They were met before the city by Altumsh, and defeated, their chief general Firoch being killed, and the rest so closely pursued, that in a short time they were all either killed or taken, which for that time established Altumsh in peace.

In the year 614, Altumsh engaged Nasir, who was also son-in-law to Cuttub, upon the banks of the Chinaab, where Altumsh proved victorious. The governor of Chilligi, in the mountains, the year following, being defeated by Nasir, fled for protection to Altumsh, who, taking part in his quarrel, marched against Nasir, and a second time overthrew him, recovering the countries lost by the viceroy of Chilligi, upon which he himself returned to Delhi. In the year 618, the famous but unfortunate Gelaleddin, king of Charazm, being defeated in the north, by the great conqueror Gengis Khan, retreated towards Lahore, where Altumsh opposed him with all his forces. This obliged that brave though unfortunate prince to retreat towards the Indus, where he was opposed by Nasir, who defeated him, and pursued him, by the way of Kutch and Makran, the maritime provinces of Persia.

In the year 622, Altumsh led his army towards Behar and Bengal, where he obliged Yeas ul dien, of Chilligi, then prince of Bengal, to pay him tribute and swear allegiance. He struck the currency in his own name, and appointing his son Nasir to the government of Bengal, he left Yeas ul dien in the government of Behar, and then returned to Delhi. But soon after, war broke out between Nasir, prince of Bengal, and Yeas ul dien, of Behar. The latter was defeated and slain; Nasir taking possession of his principality

and treasure, out of which he sent ample presents to his friends at Delhi.

In the mean time, Altumsh led out his forces against Cabaja, who possessed the provinces on the Indus, and unable to oppose him in the field, left a strong garrison in Outch, and returned himself to Backar. The emperor detached Nizam Jinaidi with half the army in pursuit of Cabaja, while, with the other half, he himself laid siege to Outch, which he took in two months and twenty days. When the news of the fall of Outch reached Cabaja, he sent his son Alla to intreat the emperor for peace. The terms were not settled when news was brought, that Nasir, already mentioned, had been obliged by Nizam to attempt to cross the river, and that he was unhappily drowned. The whole country submitted to the imperial power. Altumsh then drew his forces towards the fort of Rantampore, which he besieged and took.

In the year 624, he marched towards the fort of Mandu, which he reduced with all the country of Sewalic. At this time, the noble Ruhani, the most learned and most famous poet and philosopher of that age, fled from Bochara, that city being taken by the great Gengis, and sought protection at Delhi, where he wrote many excellent pieces. The emperor, at the same time, had an embassy from the Arabian princes, with the royal robes of the caliph^{at}, which he assumed with joy, making a great festival, and distributing rich presents. In the same year, he received intelligence of the death of Nasir, his eldest son, prince of Bengal, which threw him into the deepest affliction. He soon after conferred the title upon his younger son, whom he carried with him to that province in the year 627, to invest him with the government, which had run into confusion after the death of the former prince. Having entirely settled this country in peace, he left Eaz ul Muluck to superintend the kingdom, and returned with his son to Delhi.

Altumsh formed a design, in the year 629, to reduce the fort of

Gwalior, which had, during the reign of his predecessor Aram, fallen into the hands of the Hindoos. He accordingly besieged it for a whole year, when the garrison being reduced to great streights, the governor made his escape in the night, and the troops capitulated; but above three hundred of them, for treacherous behaviour, were punished.

After the reduction of this place, he marched his army towards Malava, and reducing the fort of Belsay, took the city of Ugein, where he destroyed the magnificent and rich temple of Makal,* formed upon the same plan with that of Sumnat, which had been building three hundred years, and was surrounded by a wall one hundred cubits in height. The image of Bickermajit, who had been formerly prince of this country, and so renowned that the people of Hindostan date their time from his death, as also that of Makal, both of stone, with many other figures of brass, he ordered to be carried to Delhi, and broken at the door of the great mosque.

After his return from this expedition, he led his army again towards Multan, to settle the affairs of that province; but this enterprize proved unsuccessful on account of his health. He fell sick on his march, which obliged him to return to Delhi, where he died, in the year 633, or A. D. 1235.

The reign of Altumsh was twenty-six years. He was an enterprising, able, and virtuous prince.

FEROSE I.

The prince Ferose† succeeded his father Altumsh in the throne of Delhi. In the year 625, his father appointed him governor of Budaoon, and, after the reduction of Gwalior, conferred upon him the viceroyship of Lahore. He chanced, at the emperor's death, to be at Delhi on a visit, and immediately ascended the throne. The

* MA signifies great, in the Indian language; and KAL time, or sometimes Death.

† Ruckun ul dien, Ferose Shaw.

omrahs made their offerings, and swore allegiance ; while the poets of the age vied with one another in his praise, for which they received liberal donations.

But, when he acquired the imperial dignity, he spread the flowery carpets of luxury, and withdrew his hand from the toils of state. He expended his father's treasure upon dancing-women, comedians, and musicians, and left the affairs of government to the management of his mother. This woman had been a Turkish slave, and now became a monster of cruelty, murdering all the women of Altumsh's Haram, to gratify her inhuman hatred to them, as also the youngest of that emperor's sons. The minds of the people began to be filled with disgust, and Mohammed, the younger brother of the king, and governor of Oud, intercepted the revenues from Bengal, and began to assert independence. At the same time, the different rajahs of superior eminence entering into a confederacy, exalted their standards of hostility against the emperor, advanced sultana Rizia, the eldest daughter of Altumsh, to the throne, and imprisoned the emperor's mother.

With respect to Feroze himself, he was delivered up into her hands, and died in confinement some time after ; having reigned only six months and twenty-eight days.

SULTANA RIZIA.

Sultana Rizia was adorned with every qualification necessary in the ablest kings ; and the strictest examiners of her actions could find in her no fault but that she was a woman. In the time of her father, she entered deeply into the affairs of government, which disposition he encouraged, finding she had a remarkable talent for politics. In that year in which he took the fort of Gwalior, he appointed her regent in his absence. When he was asked by the omrahs, why he appointed his daughter to such an office, in preference to so many of his sons, he replied, " that he saw his sons gave

themselves up to wine, women, and gaming; that therefore he thought the government too weighty for their shoulders to bear; and that Rizia, though a woman, had a man's head and heart, and was better than twenty such sons."

Rizia, upon her accession, changing her apparel, assumed the imperial robes, and every day gave public audience from the throne, revising and confirming the laws of her father, which had been abrogated in the last reign, and distributing justice with an equal hand. Yet could not her wise and politic conduct crush the hydra rebellion. Headed by her father's vizier, Janedi, the great omrahs confederating, advanced with their armies to Delhi, and encamping without the city, commenced hostilities. They, at the same time, sent circular letters to all the omrahs of the empire, to allure them from their allegiance. This news reaching the subah of Oud, he collected his forces, and hastened to the relief of the empress; but when he had crossed the Ganges, he was engaged by the confederates, defeated, and taken prisoner, in which condition he soon died. The empress found means, in her own policy, to sow dissension among the confederates; till, finding themselves in a dangerous situation, they retreated each to his own country, while some of them, being pursued by the empress, were taken and put to death, the vizier escaping to the hills of Sirmore, where he died.

The prosperity of the sultana daily increasing, she gave the vizarit to Chaja Gaznavi, who had been deputy to the former vizier, with the title of Nizam, and the chief command of her forces to Abiek, with the title of Kilic Khan. Kabirc, having subjected himself to her authority, was confirmed in the government of Lahore, while the countries of Bengal, and the northern provinces, were also confirmed to their respective viceroys, on their promise of future obedience. In the mean time, Kilic Khan, general of the sultana's armies, died, and Hassen being appointed to succeed him,

was sent with a force to raise the siege of Rantampore, which was then invested by the independent Indian princes. But, at the approach of the imperial forces, they raised the siege, and retreated. After Hassen's departure from Rantampore, Tiggi was advanced to the dignity of lord chamberlain, and master of requests. Jammal gaining great favour with the empress, was also appointed master of the horse, from which station he was presently advanced to that of captain general of the empire.

The nobles were greatly disgusted at this promotion, as the favourite was originally an Abyssinian slave. The first who began openly to express his discontent, was the viceroy of Lahore, in the year 637, who threw off his allegiance, and began to recruit his army. The empress, collecting also her forces, marched out against him, and the viceroy, being disappointed by some of his confederates, was obliged to make every concession to obtain pardon. This he effected with so much art, that the empress, upon her departure, either believing him to be her friend, or desirous of binding him over to her interest, by gratitude, continued him in his viceroyship, and added to it that of Moultan, which had been governed by Kirakus.

In the same year, Altunia, the imperial governor of Tiberhind, exalted the hostile standard against the empress, on account of her imprudent partiality to the Abyssinian. The empress, upon this intelligence, marched with her army towards Tiberhind, but, about half way, all the Turkish chiefs in her army mutinied with their forces. A tumultuous conflict ensued, in which her Abyssinian general was killed, and she herself seized and sent to the fort of Tiberhind, to Altunia. The army then returned to Delhi, where the Turkish omrahs set up her brother Byram, the son of the emperor Altumsh.

BYRAM II.

Ascended the throne of Delhi, in A. H. 637, or A. D. 1239, and confirmed all the laws and customs then in force. Tiggi, in conjunction with the vizier, by degrees took the whole government of the empire upon himself, taking the sister of the emperor to wife, and mounting an elephant upon guard, at his gate, which was an honour peculiar to royalty. This circumstance raised disgust and jealousy in the emperor's mind; he therefore ordered two Turkish slaves to put on the appearance of drunkenness, and endeavour to assassinate Tiggi and the vizier. Accordingly, upon a certain day, these two Turks, when the king gave public audience, pressed among the crowd, and began to be very troublesome. Tiggi, who stood first in the rank of omrahs, went to turn them out. They drew their daggers, and plunged them into his breast, then, running to the vizier, they gave him two wounds; but he escaped through the crowd. The slaves were immediately seized, and thrown into chains, but in a few days after they were pardoned.

The vizier kept his bed for some days, on account of his wounds, but, as soon as he recovered, he appeared again at court, and officiated in his employ. Sunkir Rumi, who was then master of the requests, formed a scheme to supersede him. He, for this purpose, placed himself at the head of a powerful faction at court, and collecting the omrahs together, and, among the rest the vizier, at the house of the chief justice of the empire, he began to concert with them a plan to bring about a revolution. The chief justice was secretly averse to the measure, and fearing that what was nominally meant against the vizier, should actually turn upon his master, he sent to the emperor, and informed him of the whole affair. The messenger brought back with him a faithful servant of the king, in the habit of a fool, to overhear the conversation with the vizier.

The vizier, though he actually entered into the measures of the meeting, excused himself from attendance at that time.

The story of the chief justice being confirmed by the person whom the emperor sent to overhear the omrahs, a body of cavalry were immediately dispatched to seize them; but they having had previous intelligence, dispersed themselves before the horse arrived. The next day, Sunkir Rumi, who was one of the principal conspirators, was sent to be governor of Budaoon, while Casi Jellal was turned out of his office. In a few months after, Rumi and Muza were assassinated at Budaoon by the emperor's emissaries, while Casi Jellal was trodden under foot by elephants. These proceedings raised fear and apprehension in the bosom of every person, which being improved by the faction, there was a general mutiny among the troops. In the mean time news arrived, that the Moguls of the great Gengis had invested Lahore; that Malleck the viceroy of that place, finding his troops mutinous, had been obliged to fly in the night, and was actually on his way to Delhi; and that Lahore was plundered by the enemy, and the miserable inhabitants carried away prisoners.

The king, upon this urgent occasion, called a general council of state, in which it was determined to send the vizier, and Hassen Ghorî, chief secretary of the empire, with other omrahs, to oppose the Moguls at Lahore, with an army. When the imperial army advanced as far as the river Bea, where the town of Sultanpoor now stands, the vizier, who was privately an enemy to the emperor, began to depreciate his government to the nobles, and to sow the seeds of sedition in their minds. But that he might completely effect his purpose, he wrote a private letter to the emperor, accusing them of disaffection, and begging he would either take the field himself, or send other omrahs and more forces, for that those now with the army could not be depended upon, and that therefore nothing could be done against the enemy.

The emperor had been forewarned of the treachery of his vizier in the late conspiracy, yet the artful man had so well extricated himself, and gained such confidence, that Byram, who was not blessed with much discernment, gave entire credit to this accusation, and sent him an order, importing, that they deserved death; at the same time recommending to him to keep them quiet till he should find the means of bringing them to condign punishment. This was what the crafty vizier wanted. He immediately produced the king's order, which kindled the omrahs at once into rage, while he misled them with respect to the accuser. He even pretended to be apprehensive for himself, and began to consult with them about the means of general security; and they all promised to support him.

This news having reached the emperor, he began to open his eyes when too late, and in great perturbation hastened to the house of Islaam, a venerable and learned omrah, requesting him to set out for the camp, and endeavour, by proper representations, to bring over the disaffected chiefs to their duty. Islaam accordingly set out in private, but not being able to effect any thing, returned to Delhi. The vizier, in the mean time, advanced with the army to the capital, which he besieged for three months and an half. Rebellion spreading at last among the citizens, the place was taken. Byram was thrown into prison, where, in a few days, he came to a very tragical end, after a reign of two years one month and fifteen days, in A. H. 640, or A. D. 1242.

The Moguls, in the mean time, plundered the provinces on the banks of the five branches of the Indus, and returned to Gazna.

MASSUD IV.

When Byram had drank the cup of fate, Balin the elder raised a faction, and forcing his way into the palace, mounted the throne, and ordered himself to be proclaimed throughout the city. But the

greater part of the princes and nobility, dissatisfied with his advancement, immediately took out Massud, the son of Ferose, the late emperor, from his confinement in the white castle, and, deposing the usurper, placed him upon the throne the same day in which Balin had seized it.

Massud, however, soon after resigned himself to wine and women, and exercised various modes of cruelty, injustice, and oppression, despising all counsel, and rushing headlong into ruin. The princes and omrahs at length determined upon hostile measures, having first privately sent for Mahmud, the king's uncle, from Barage. Mahmud advanced with all the forces he could raise towards the capital. The emperor was thrown into prison, by the omrahs, where he remained for life. He reigned four years one month and one day; a weak and foolish prince, a slave to his pleasures, and without firmness of mind to entertain any one commendable virtue.

Oktai, the son of Gengis, sat upon the imperial throne of Tartary, during the short reigns of Ferose, Rizia, Byram, and Massud. Little alteration happened in the conquests of Gengis, and his posterity were employed in extending the Tartar empire in the two extremities of Asia. The dominions left by Altumsh remained entire when his son Massud was deposed.

MAHMUD II.

When the eldest son of the emperor Altumsh died in Bengal, he conferred the title and government of that principality upon his younger son Mahmud. But this was a nominal honour, Mahmud being at that time too young for such a charge. Upon his father's death he was confined by the cruel empress, and remained in prison till he was released by the emperor Massud, who gave him the government of Barage. During the period of his government, he waged successful war with the neighbouring independent princes, and rendered his province happy and flourishing. The fame of his justice

and policy was widely spread abroad, which made the omrahs turn their eyes towards him in the late revolution. He was then placed upon the throne of his father, which, even laying aside his birth, his bravery, wisdom, and learning, his other good qualities very much entitled him to possess. During the time of his imprisonment, he wrote for his livelihood, despising the emperor's allowance. He often said, in the days of his misfortune, that he who could not work for his bread did not deserve it. When he ascended the throne, he was the patron of learning, the protector of the people, and the friend of the poor.

The office of vizier was now conferred upon Balin the younger, who formerly defeated the sultana; and all the executive power was put into his hands. Shere, the emperor's nephew, was appointed to the government of Lahore, Multan, Batnize, and Tiberhind; where he was ordered to keep a great standing army, and to watch the motions of the Moguls, who had possessed themselves of the provinces beyond the Indus.

In the month of Regib, the king took the field, and turned his arms towards Multan. He encamped for some time upon the banks of the Sodra; and making his vizier captain general, he sent him towards the mountains of Jehud, and the territories near the Indus. Those countries were reduced, and the emperor avenged himself upon the Gickers for their continual incursions, and for guiding the Moguls through their country into Hindostan. These offences were too great to be pardoned, and therefore he carried some thousands of every age and sex into captivity.

Some ancient omrahs, who had estates conferred on them in the provinces near the Indus, had, for some time past, refused to supply their quotas to the army, for the maintenance of which they held these estates. By the advice of the vizier, they were arrested, and carried prisoners to Delhi. The king, however, gave their estates to their sons or relations, upon the old military tenure. The country

of Punjab and Multan were by these means effectually settled, and the king's authority firmly established. The behaviour of Mahmud, upon this occasion, puts us in mind of the similar conduct of Secunder (Alexander). When Secunder was on his way to India, some of his old generals, unwilling to proceed farther, began to draw their feet out of the circle of his obedience. The hero upon this, was thrown into great perplexity, not knowing how to proceed with them. In this dilemma, he sent a messenger to Greece to advise with his old master Aristotle, who, by reason of his age and infirmities, had not accompanied him. When the sage read the letter, he carried the messenger into the garden, where he gave orders to the gardener to root up all the old plants, and set young shoots in their places. Without saying more, or writing any answer, he told the messenger to return in haste to his master. When the messenger arrived, he fell upon his face before the king, and told him he could obtain no reply. Secunder was somewhat surprised, and inquired into the particulars of the interview. Hearing the above relation, he smiled, and told the messenger he had brought him an excellent answer. He accordingly put some of the old mutinous officers to death, and cashiered others; supplying their places with young men, who became more obedient to command; and thus re-established his authority in the army.

In 647, he sent the vizier with an army towards Rantampore and the mountains of Merwar, to chastise the rebellious inhabitants of these countries, which he effectually did, and returned to Delhi. In the same year, the emperor's brother Jellal was called from his government of Canouge to Delhi. But, fearing that the king had some intentions against his life, he fled to the hills of Sitnoor, with all his adherents. The emperor pursued him, but finding, after eight months labour, that he could not lay hands upon him, he returned to Delhi. Mahmud, this same year, married the daughter of his vizier, Balin, and upon the occasion made great rejoicings.

He drew, in the year following, his army towards Multan, and, upon the banks of the Bea, he was joined by his nephew, Shere, governor of the northern provinces, with twenty thousand chosen horse. The king continued his march to Multan, where he remained for some days. Having placed the elder Balin in the government of Nagore and Outch, and settled some other matters, he returned to his capital.

The elder Balin, in the year 649, threw off his allegiance, and stirred up a rebellion in those provinces. This obliged Mahmud to put the imperial standard in motion towards Nagore. He put the rebel to flight; but such was the strange policy of the times, that he promised him pardon, upon his submission; and afterwards actually continued him in his government. The emperor, after returning from this expedition, remained only a few days at Delhi, before he proceeded to the siege of Narvar. He was met at Narvar by the Indian prince Sahir Deo, who had just built that fortress on a steep rock, with five thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot. This immense host was defeated with great slaughter, and the place, being invested, was reduced, after a few months siege. The emperor from thence continued his march to Chinderi and Malava; and having settled those countries, and appointed a subah to govern them, returned to Delhi. The vizier gained in this expedition great reputation for his conduct and personal valour.

In the mean time, the emperor's nephew, Shere, viceroy of Lahore and Multan, who was at that time reckoned a prodigy of wisdom, valour, and every royal virtue, had raised and disciplined a body of horse, with which he drove the Moguls out of the kingdom of Gazna, and annexed it once more to the empire. He struck the currency in the name of Mahmud, and proclaimed him through all the provinces. The king, for these services, added the government

of Outch to his viceroyship, which, contrary to expectation, was quietly delivered up by the elder Balin, who returned to Delhi, and received the jagier of Budaoon.

In the year 655, or A. D. 1257, a Mogul army crossed the Indus, which obliged Mahmud to point his hostile spears towards that quarter; but the Moguls fled upon his approach.

In the year 657, the vizier, by the king's commands, led an army towards Sewalic and Rantampore, where the Indians had begun to raise great disturbances, having collected a very numerous body of horse and foot, at the head of which they plundered and burnt the country. Upon the vizier's approach, they retired into strong posts and passes among the mountains, where, however, he routed them, and continued to ravage the country four months with fire and sword, setting a price upon their heads.

The princes of those rajaputs, rendered at length desperate, collected all their forces, and rushed down from the mountains to be revenged of the Mohammedans. The vizier saw the storm descending, and had time to draw up his army in order of battle to receive them. The attack of the enemy was violent and terrible, being actuated by rage, revenge, and despair. It was with much difficulty that the vizier could keep the imperial troops in the field, but the enemy overheating themselves towards mid-day, they became hourly more languid and faint. The imperial general inspiring his troops with fresh courage, for till then they had acted upon the defensive, began to charge in his turn, and, before evening, pursued the enemy, with great slaughter, back to the hills. The vizier's loss was very considerable in this action, and many brave omrahs drank of the cup of martyrdom. Of the enemy above ten thousand were slain, and ninety of their chiefs made prisoners, besides a great number of common soldiers. The vizier having, by this action, relieved the fort of Rantampore, which had been besieged by some other

tribes, he returned victorious to Delhi. The captive chiefs were cruelly ordered to be put to death, and their unfortunate soldiers condemned to perpetual slavery.

Early in the same year, an ambassador arrived at Delhi, on the part of Hallacu, the grandson of Gengis, and king of Persia. The vizier went out to meet the ambassador with fifty thousand foreign horse, in the imperial service, two hundred thousand infantry in arms, two thousand chain-elephants of war, and three thousand carriages of fireworks. He drew up in order of battle, formed in columns of twenty deep, with the artillery and cavalry properly disposed. Having then exhibited some feats of horsemanship, in mock battles, and fully displayed his pomp to the ambassador, he conducted him into the city and royal palace. There the court was very splendid, every thing being set out in the most gorgeous and magnificent manner. All the omrahs, officers of state, judges, priests, and great men of the city were present, besides five princes of Persian Irak, Chorasán, and Maver-ul-nere, with their retinues, who had taken protection at Delhi, from the arms of Gengis, who, a little before that time, had over-run most part of Asia. Many Indian princes, subject to the empire, were there, and stood next the throne.

This ceremony being concluded with great pomp, nothing particular occurred at Delhi, till the year 663, when the emperor fell sick, and, having lingered some months on the bed of affliction, died in the year 664, or A. D. 1265, much lamented by his people.

BALIN.

Mahmud leaving no sons behind him, his vizier, Balin, who was of the same family, mounted, by the universal desire of the nobles, the throne of Delhi.

In the reign of Altumsh, forty of that monarch's Turkish slaves, who were in great favour, entered into a solemn association to

support one another, and, upon the king's death, to divide the empire among themselves; but jealousies and dissensions having arisen afterwards among them, prevented this project from being executed. The emperor Balin was of their number; and, as several of them had raised themselves to great power in the kingdom, the first thing he did after his accession, was to rid himself of all who remained of that association, either by sword or poison; among whom was his own nephew, Shere, a man of great bravery and reputation.

His fears, after these assassinations, were entirely dispelled, and he became so famous for his justice and wise government, that his alliance was courted by all the kings of Persia and Tartary. He took particular care that none but men of merit and family should be admitted to any office in his government; and for this purpose he endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the particular talents and connections of every person in his court. As he was very assiduous in rewarding merit, he was no less so in punishing vice; for whoever misbehaved in their station, was certain of being immediately disgraced.

He expelled all flatterers, usurers, pimps, and players, from his court; and being one day told, that an omrah, an old servant of the crown, who had acquired a vast fortune by usury and monopoly in the bazar, or market, would present him with some lacks of rupees, if he would honour him with one word from the throne; he rejected the proposal with great disdain, and said, "What must his subjects think of a king who should condescend to hold discourse with a wretch so infamous?"

Balin was so famous for his generosity, that all the princes of the East, who had been overthrown by the arms of Gengis, sought protection at his court. There came upwards of twenty of those unfortunate sovereigns from Turkestan, Maver-ul-nere, Chorasán, Persian Irac, Azerbijan, Persia Proper, Room, and Syria. They had a princely allowance, and palaces for their residence allotted them;

and they were, upon public occasions, ranked before his throne, according to their dignity; all standing to the right and left, except two princes of the race of the Caliphas, who were permitted to sit on either side of the musnud. The palaces in which the royal fugitives resided in Delhi, took their names from their respective possessors. In the retinue of those princes, were the most famous men for learning, war, arts, and sciences, that Asia at that time produced. The court of India was, therefore, in the days of Balin, reckoned the most polite and magnificent in the world. All the philosophers, poets, and divines, formed a society every night, at the house of the prince Shehîd, the heir apparent to the empire; and the noble Chosro the poet presided at those meetings. Another society of musicians, dancers, mimicks, players, buffoons, and story-tellers, was constantly convened at the house of the emperor's second son Kera, or Bagera, who was given to pleasure and levity. The omrahs followed the example of their superiors, so that various societies and clubs were formed in every quarter of the city. The emperor himself, having a great passion for splendour and magnificence in his palaces, equipages, and livries, he was imitated by the court. A new city seemed to lift up its head, and arts to arise from the bosoms of luxury and expence.

Such was the pomp and grandeur of the royal presence, that none could approach the throne without being impressed with awe. The ceremonies of introduction were conducted with such profound solemnity, and every thing disposed so as to excite reverence and astonishment in the beholders. Nor was Balin less magnificent in his cavalcades. His state elephants were caparisoned in purple and gold. His horse-guards, consisting of a thousand noble Tartars in splendid armour, were mounted upon the finest Persian steeds, with bridles of silver, and saddles of rich embroidery. Five hundred chosen men in rich livery, with their drawn sabres, ran before him, proclaiming his approach, and clearing the way. All the omrahs

followed according to their rank, with their various equipages and attendants. The monarch, in short, seldom went out with less than one hundred thousand men ; which he used to say, was not to gratify any vanity in himself, but to exalt himself in the eyes of the people.

The festivals of Nauraz and Ide, as also the anniversary of his own birth, were celebrated with wonderful pomp and splendour. But amidst all this glare of royalty, he never forgot that he was the guardian of the laws, and protector of his meanest subjects. It was before Balin's time a custom in Hindostan, in cases of murder, to satisfy the relations by a certain fine, if they consented to accept of it. He abolished this custom, which has been since revived, and ordered the subah of Budaoon to be put to death, upon the complaint of a poor woman for killing her son.

When Balin was only an omrah, he gave into the courtly vices of wine, women, and play. But, upon his accession, he became a great enemy to all those luxuries ; prohibiting wine upon the severest penalties to be drank in his dominions ; laying great restrictions upon women of pleasure, and banishing all gamesters from his court. So zealous was Balin to support his authority, that for the disobedience of one man, he would order a force to the remotest parts of the empire to bring him to punishment. In cases of insurrection or rebellion against his government, he was not content, as had formerly been the custom, to chastise the leaders, but he extended the capital punishment of high treason to the meanest of their vassals and adherents. This severity rendered it necessary for the subahs to have the king's mandate for every expedition or any hostilities they were about to commence.

That his army might be kept in constant exercise, he led them out twice every week to hunt, for forty or fifty miles round the city, and established laws for the preservation of the game. In the year 664, he was advised by his council, to undertake an expedition to

reduce the kingdoms of Guzerat and Malava, which had been annexed to the empire by Cuttub, but were afterwards permitted to shake off the yoke. To this advice the emperor would by no means consent, saying, That the Mogul Tartars were become so powerful in the north, having conquered all the Mussulmen princes, that he thought it would be much wiser to secure what he possessed against those invaders, than to weaken himself, and leave his country unguarded, by foreign wars.

Mohammed Tatar, the son of Arsilla, who had begun to assert independence in Bengal, was this year, however, reduced, and obliged to send his usual tribute to Delhi. A great rejoicing was made upon this occasion, at which the king was present, and gave public audience. Balin ordered, in the course of the same year, an army to extirpate a certain tribe of banditti called Mewats, who had possessed themselves of an extensive wilderness about eighty miles south-east of the city towards the hills; from whence they used, in former reigns, to make incursions, to the number of fifty thousand, even to the gates of Delhi. It is said, that in this expedition, above one hundred thousand of these wretches were put to the sword; and the army being supplied with hatchets and other implements, cleared away the woods for above the circumference of one hundred miles. The cleared space afterwards proved excellent land, and was well inhabited, as the people were protected by a line of forts along the foot of the mountains.

In the fourth year of the reign of Balin, died Shere, the nephew of the late emperor, who had, from the time of Mahmud, governed the provinces upon the banks of the five branches of the Indus, and other districts. He was esteemed a man of great genius, and an intrepid warrior; having defended his country from the incursions of the Moguls, who now became the terror of the East. Balin, upon the demise of Shere, gave Sunnam and Semana to the noble Timur, and the other countries were divided among other omrahs of his

court. The Moguls, encouraged by the death of Shere, began again their depredations in those provinces. The mutual jealousies and dissensions among the subahs prevented them from doing any thing effectual for the public good.

The emperor, therefore, was obliged to appoint his eldest son Mohammed, at that time bearing the title of the noble Malleck, viceroy of all those frontier provinces. Mohammed was immediately dispatched to his government with a fine army, and some of the wisest and best generals in the empire. The prince himself was blest with a bright and comprehensive genius, taking great delight in learning and the company of learned men. He, with his own hand, made a choice collection of the beauties of poetry, selected from the most famous writers in that art. The work consisted of twenty thousand couplets, and was esteemed the criterion of taste. Among the learned men in the prince's court, the noble Chosro and Hassen bore the first rank in genius. These, with many more of his philosophical society, accompanied him on this expedition to Lahore. Mohammed was visited at Lahore by Osman Marindi, who was esteemed the greatest man of that age. But no presents or entreaty could prevail upon him to remain out of his own country; so that after a short stay he returned. We are told, that as he was one day reading one of his poems in Arabic before the prince, all the poets who were present were transported into a fit of dancing. But the piece affected the prince, to all appearance, in a quite contrary manner; for the tears began to flow fast down his cheeks.

The fame of the enlightened Sadi of Schiraz, the celebrated poet, being great at that time, Mohammed invited him twice to his court; but that renowned sage excused himself on account of his years, and, with much difficulty, was brought to accept of some presents. Sadi, in return, sent to Mohammed a copy of his works, and did honour to the abilities of the noble Chosro, the prince's favourite, and president of his learned society. The prince, every year, made

a journey to see his father at Delhi, to whom he always behaved with the greatest filial affection and duty.

Every thing seemed now in perfect peace and security throughout the empire, when Togril, who was entrusted with the government of Bengal, began to appear in arms. In the year 678, or A. D. 1279, this bold and enterprising man led an army against the Indian princes towards Jainagur, whom he defeated, carrying off some hundreds of elephants and much wealth, out of which he made no acknowledgment to the king. Balin happened at that time to be very sick, insomuch that the news of his death was spread abroad. This intelligence having reached the ears of Togril, he assumed the red umbrella, with all the royal dignities, and declared himself king of Bengal. Balin hearing of this, wrote him an order to return immediately to his allegiance, which having produced no effect, he commanded Tiggi, governor of Oud, to raise his forces, and declaring him subah of Bengal, sent Timur, Malleck Jemmal, and other generals, to his assistance, with an army from Delhi, to reduce the traitor to obedience.

When Tiggi was joined by this force, he crossed the Sirju, and proceeded towards Bengal, whence Togril advanced with his forces to meet him. Togril employed his money so well among the troops of Tiggi, that he drew many of the Turkish chiefs over to his party, and then engaging the imperial army, he gave them a total defeat. The king hearing this intelligence, foamed with rage and indignation. He ordered Tiggi to be hanged at the gate of Oud; and dispatched Turmutti, a Turkish general, with another army, against the rebel. Nor was the fate of Turmutti more fortunate than that of his predecessor. He was totally routed, and lost all his baggage and the public treasure.

Balin, having intelligence of this second disgrace to his arms, was plunged into the greatest affliction, and prepared to take the field in person. He gave orders to build a large fleet of boats, with all

expedition, to carry his baggage down the river. He, in the mean time, under pretence of going upon a hunting party, went to Sunnam and Sumana, the subahship of his younger son, whom he brought with his army with him to Delhi, leaving one Malleck in the government. Having collected the imperial army, he appointed the chief magistrate of the city, regent during his own absence.

The emperor crossing the Ganges, without waiting for the dry season, proceeded to Bengal by forced marches. But having met with great delay, on account of the roads and numerous rivers, Togril heard of his approach, and had time to collect his army, and with all his elephants, treasure, and effects, took the route of Jainagur,* with intention to remain there till the king should return to Delhi. The sultan having arrived in Bengal, remained there only a few days. He appointed Hissain governor of the province, and proceeded himself, with his army, towards Jainagur. At Sunnarguam, the zemindar of that place joined him with his troops, and promised to guard the river against Togril, if he should endeavour to escape that way.

Balin continued his march with great expedition, but he could gain no intelligence of the enemy. He therefore ordered Malleck, with seven thousand chosen horse, to advance twenty miles, in front of the army, and, by all means, to endeavour to gain intelligence of the rebels; but, in spite of all inquiry, no satisfactory accounts could for several days be obtained. One day, however, Mohammed Shir, governor of Kole, being out from the advanced guard with forty horse, reconnoitring the country, beheld some bullocks with pack-saddles, and having seized the drivers, began to inquire about the enemy. They obstinately pretended ignorance; but the head of one of them being struck off, the rest fell upon their faces, and confessed that they had just left the enemy's camp, which was about

* A town in Orissa, near Cattack.

four miles in front, that they had halted for that day, and intended to advance to Jainagur.

Mohammed sent the drivers to Malleck, who commanded the vanguard, that he might examine them, and proceeded himself, as directed, to reconnoitre the enemy's camp. He saw, from a rising ground, the whole encampment, extended over a great plain, with the elephants and cavalry picqueted, and every thing in rest and security. Having fixed his eye upon the rebels' tents, which were pitched in the centre of the army, he determined to execute one of the boldest enterprises perhaps ever attempted. He advanced on full speed, with his forty attendants, whom he fired with the glory of the undertaking, towards the camp, which he was permitted to enter, being taken for one of their own parties. He continued his course to the usurper's tents, and then ordered his men to draw; and rushing into the great tent of audience, which was crowded with men of distinction, put all they met to the sword, crying, "Victory to Sultan Balin!"

Togrîl, who imagined he was surprised by the imperial army, started from his throne in confusion, and cut his way through the tent behind. He mounted a horse without a saddle, and the cry having now spread through the camp, he was confirmed in his fears, and fled towards the river, with an intention to cross it, that he might make his escape to Jainagur. In the mean time, Malleck, the brother of the gallant Mohammed, having seen the rebel as he fled, pursued him to the river, and shot him with an arrow as he was crossing. Togrîl immediately fell from his horse, and Malleck, plunging into the stream, dragged him out by the hair, and cut off his head. At that very instant, seeing some of the enemy coming that way, he hid the head in the sand, and sending the body down the stream, began to bathe himself in the river. The party questioned him about their king, and then went off without suspicion.

Mohammed's party, in the mean time, having dispatched every

body they found in the royal tents, dispersed themselves in such a manner among the enemy, who were now in the greatest confusion, that most of them escaped in the crowd. Togril being no where to be found, and the panic having run through the whole army, the flight became general, and none thought about any thing but personal safety. Those who remained alive of the forty heroes, loitered in the rear, till the enemy were quite gone off the field. They then returned to the deserted camp, where they chanced to meet Malleck. He related the king's death to his brother, who instantly sent the head to Balin. He at the same time dispatched an express to the vanguard, which came up that night, and took possession of the camp.

The sultan arrived the next day with the imperial army. He called to him the two gallant brothers, and commanded them to relate the particulars of this astonishing exploit. He heard it with surprise; but instead of praising them, as they expected, he told them, that the rashness of their behaviour was inconsistent with their duty and prudence, and much more to the same purpose. But he, in a few days, took them into favour, and conferred great titles and honours upon them.

Balin, finding the enemy had entirely dispersed, returned to Bengal, and put every one of the rebel's family, and principal adherents, to death. He did not even spare his innocent women and children; and he carried his cruelty so far, as to massacre a hundred Fakiers, and their chief collinder, for having been in great favour with the rebel, who had given him a present of three maunds of gold to support the society. Balin appointed his son Kera king of Bengal, bestowing upon him all the ensigns of royalty, and the spoils of Togril, except the elephants and treasure, while he himself returned with his army towards Delhi. Balin was absent upon this expedition three years. Upon his arrival, he conferred dignities upon Malleck, who had ruled Delhi with great wisdom. He then visited the learned

men at their own houses, made them princely presents, and, at their instigation, published an act of grace to all insolvent debtors who were in confinement, striking off, at the same time, all old balances of revenues due to the crown. Notwithstanding this appearance of humanity, either the policy or natural cruelty of his disposition rendered him unmerciful to all rebels. He ordered spits to be erected in the market-place, for the execution of all the prisoners taken in the late expedition ; and it was with the utmost difficulty, that the casies, mufties, and learned men, in a body petitioning their pardon, could obtain it. This venerable body at last softened Balin into mercy, and he drew the pen of forgiveness over their crimes.

His eldest son having heard of his father's arrival, proceeded to Delhi to visit him ; and was received with the greatest affection and joy. He had not remained at the capital three months, during which his father and himself were inseparable, when news was brought that the Moguls had invaded Multan. Mohammed hastened his departure to oppose them ; but, before he had taken leave, thinking he might never see him again, his father called him into a private apartment, and gave him a series of the most solemn instructions for his conduct both as a man and a monarch.

Balin having ended his instructions, embraced his son tenderly, and parted with him in tears. The prince immediately marched against the enemy, and having defeated and slain Mohammed, chief of the Moguls, he recovered all the territories of which they had possessed themselves in the empire. Timur, of the family of Gengis, who was a prince of mighty renown in the empire, and of the race of the conqueror of Asia, at this time governed all the eastern provinces of Persia, from Chorasán to the Indus, and invaded Hindostan with twenty thousand chosen horse, to revenge the death of his friend Mohammed, who had been killed the former year. Having ravaged all the country about Debalpoor and Lahore, he turned towards Multan. The prince Mohammed, who was then in Multan,

hearing of his designs, hastened to the banks of the river of Lahore, which runs through part of Multan, and prepared to oppose him. When Timur advanced to the river, he saw the army of Hindostan on the opposite bank. But the prince, desirous of engaging so great a chief upon equal terms, permitted Timur to pass the river unmolested.

Both armies then drew up in order of battle, and engaged with great fury, for the space of three hours, in which both commanders eminently distinguished their valour and conduct. The Moguls were at last put to flight, and the nobles of India pursued them with imprudent disorder. Mohammed, fatigued by the pursuit, halted by a large pond of water, with five hundred attendants, to drink. He there fell prostrate upon the ground, to return God thanks for his victory.

In the mean time one of the Mogul chiefs, who had hid himself, with two thousand horse, in a neighbouring wood, rushed out upon Mohammed, and began a dreadful slaughter. The prince had just time to mount his horse, and collecting his small party, and encouraging them by his example, fell upon his enemies. He was at last overpowered by numbers, after having thrice obliged them to give ground, and he unfortunately received a fatal arrow in his breast, by which he fell to the ground, and in a few minutes expired. A body of the troops of India appearing at that instant, the Moguls took to flight. Very few of Mohammed's party escaped from this conflict. Among the fortunate few, was the noble Chosro the poet, who relates this event at large, in his book called *Chizer Chani*.

When the army returned from the pursuit of Timur, and beheld their prince in his blood, the shouts of victory were changed to the wailings of despair. No dry eye was to be seen, from the meanest soldier to the omrah of high command. The fatal news reached the old king, who was now in his eightieth year. The fountains of his tears were exhausted, and life began to be a burthen to him.

However, bearing himself up against the stream of misfortune, he sent Kei Chosro his grandson, and the son of the deceased, to supply the place of his father. Kei Chosro, upon his arrival at Multan, took the command of the army, and, pouring the balm of benevolence and kindness into the wounds of his afflicted people, began to adjust his government, and provide for the defence of the frontiers.

When the king found grief and infirmities gradually subduing his vital strength, he sent for his son Kera, from Bengal, and appointed him his successor, at the same time insisting, that he should continue with him at Delhi till his death, and appoint a deputy for his government of Bengal. To this Kera consented; but finding his father's illness was not likely to come soon to a crisis, he set out for Bengal without acquainting him of his departure. This undutiful behaviour in his son, threw the old man into the deepest affliction, so that death began now to press hard upon him. He in the mean time sent for his grandson Kei Chosro, from Multan: the prince hastened to his presence, and a council of all the omrahs being called, the succession was changed in his favour, all of them promising to enforce Balin's last will, in favour of this young prince. Balin in a few days expired, in the year 685, or A. D. 1286, after a reign of twenty-two years. Immediately, upon the death of the emperor, Malleck, chief magistrate of Delhi, having assembled the omrahs, and being always at enmity with the father of Chosro, harangued them upon the present posture of affairs. He assured them, that Chosro was a young man of a very violent and untractable disposition, and therefore, in his opinion, unfit to reign; besides, that the power of the prince Kera was so great in the empire, that a civil war was to be feared if the succession should not be continued in his family. That therefore, as the father was absent, it would be most prudent for the omrahs to elect his son Kei Kobad, who was a prince of a mild disposition, and then present in Delhi. So great was the influence of the minister, that he procured the throne for

Kei Kobad; and Chosro, glad to escape with life, returned to his former government of Lahore.

KEI KOBAD.

When Balin was numbered with the dead, Kei Kobad his grandson, in his eighteenth year, ascended the throne, and assumed all the imperial titles. He was a prince remarkably handsome in his person, and of an affable and mild disposition. He had a talent for literature, and his progress in science was considerable. His mother was a beautiful princess, daughter to the emperor Altumsh; and if purity of blood royal is of any real worth, Kei Kobad had that to boast, for a series of generations.

As he had been bred up with great strictness under the roof of his father, when he became master of his own actions he began to give a loose to pleasure without restraint. He delighted in love, and in the soft society of silver-bodied damsels, with musky tresses, spent great part of his time. When it was publicly known that the king was a man of pleasure, it became immediately fashionable at court; and in short, in a few days, luxury and vice so prevailed, that every shade was filled with ladies of pleasure, and every street rung with music and mirth. Even the magistrates were seen drunk in public, and riot was heard in every house.

The king fitted a palace upon the banks of the river Jumna, and retired thither to enjoy his pleasures undisturbed; admitting no company but singers, players, musicians, and buffoons. Nizam, who was nephew and son-in-law to the chief magistrate of Delhi, to whom Kei Kobad owed his elevation, was raised to the dignity of chief secretary of the empire, and got the reigns of government in his hands; and Ellaka, who was the greatest man for learning in that age, was appointed his deputy. Nizam, observing that the king was quite swallowed up in his pleasures, began to form schemes to clear his own way to empire. The first object of his attention was

Chosro, who was now gone to Gazna, to endeavour to bring that noble and royal Tartar, Timur, over to his party, in order to recover the throne of Delhi; to which he claimed a title from his father's right of primogeniture, as well as from the will of the late emperor. But in this scheme Chosro did not succeed, and he was obliged to return from Gazna in great disgust.

In the mean time, Nizam endeavoured to make him as obnoxious as possible to the king, who, at length, being prevailed upon to entice Chosro to Delhi, Nizam hired assassins to murder the unfortunate prince on the way. The villanies of Nizam did not stop here. He forged a correspondence between Chaja the vizier, and Chosro, and thus effected that minister's disgrace and banishment. He also privately assassinated all the old servants of Balin, insomuch that a general consternation was spread through the city, though none as yet suspected Nizam to be the cause. The more he succeeded in his atrocities, he became less secret in the execution; and though he began to be detested by all ranks, his power and influence was so great with the king, that he was the terror of every man.

While things were in this situation, advices arrived of another irruption of Moguls into the districts of Lahore. Barbeck and Jehan were sent with an army against them. The Moguls were defeated near Lahore, and a number of prisoners brought to Delhi. The next step the traitor took, was to inspire the king with jealousy of his Mogul troops, who, as soldiers of fortune, had enlisted in great numbers in his service. He pretended that, in case of a Mogul invasion, they would certainly join their countrymen against him, insinuating, at the same time, that he believed there was already some treachery intended.

The weak prince listened to those villainous intimations, and, calling their chiefs one day together, he ordered them to be set upon by his guards and massacred; confiscating, at the same time, all their goods and wealth. He seized upon all the omrahs who had

any connections with the Moguls, and sent them prisoners to distant garrisons in the remotest parts of the empire.

In the mean time, prince Kera, the emperor's father, who had contented himself with the kingdom of Bengal, having heard how affairs were conducted at the court of Delhi, penetrated into the designs of the minister, and wrote a long letter to his son, forewarning him of his danger, and advising him how to proceed. But his advice, like that of others, was of no weight with that vicious, luxurious, and infatuated prince. When Kera found that his instructions were slighted, and that things would soon be brought to a disagreeable issue, he collected a great army, and directed his standards towards Delhi, about two years after the death of Balin. Kei Kobad, hearing that his father had advanced as far as Bahar, drew out his forces, and marched down to meet him, encamping his army upon the banks of the Gagera. Kera lay upon the Sirve, and both armies remained some days in hourly expectation of an action. The old man, finding his army much inferior to that of his son, began to despair of reducing him by force, and accordingly began to treat of peace.

The young prince, upon this, became more haughty, and by the advice of his favourite prepared for battle. In the mean time, a letter came from his father, written in the most tender and affectionate terms, begging he might be blessed with one sight of him before matters were carried to extremities. This letter awakened nature, which had slumbered so long in Kei Kobad's breast, and he gave orders to prepare his retinue, that he might visit his father. The favourite attempted all in his power to prevent this interview, but finding the prince, for once, obstinate, he prevailed upon him to insist, as emperor of Delhi, upon the first visit, hoping, by this means, to break off the conference. His design, however, did not succeed, for Kera, seeing what a headstrong youth he had to deal with, consented to come to the imperial camp, and ordered the astrologers

to determine upon a lucky hour, and crossing the river, proceeded towards his son's camp.

The young monarch having prepared every thing for his father's reception in the most pompous and ceremonious manner, mounted his throne, and arrogantly gave orders, that his father, upon his approach, should three times kiss the ground. The old man accordingly, when he arrived at the first door, was ordered to dismount, and after he had come in sight of the throne, he was commanded to pay his obeisance in three different places as he advanced.

Kera was so much shocked at this indignity, that he burst out into a flood of tears; which being observed by the son, he could no longer support his unnatural insolence, but, leaping from the throne, fell on his face at his father's feet, imploring his forgiveness, for his offence. The good old man melted into compassion, and, raising him in his arms, embracing him, and hung weeping upon his neck. The scene, in short, was so affecting on both sides, that the whole court were in tears. These transports being over, the young king helped his father to mount the throne, and paying him his respects, took his place at his right hand, ordering a charger full of golden suns to be waved three times over his father's head, and afterwards to be given among the people. All the omrahs also presented to him their presents.

Public business being then discussed, every thing was settled in peace and friendship, and Kera returned to his own camp. A friendly intercourse commenced immediately between the two armies, for the space of twenty days, in which time the father and son alternately visited one another, and the time was spent in festivity and mirth. The principal terms settled between the two kings were, that they should respectively retain their former dominions; and then Kei Kobad prepared to return to Delhi, and Kera, having first given some wholesome admonition to his son, set off for Bengal.

The king, on his return to Delhi, continued in his former course of pleasure, till wine, and intemperance in his other passions, had ruined his health. He fell sick, and then began to recollect the advice of his father, and to consider Nizam as the cause of all his distress. He immediately began to form schemes in his mind to rid himself of that wicked minister. He for this purpose ordered him to the government of Multan; but Nizam, perceiving his drift, contrived many delays, that he might get a favourable opportunity to accomplish his murderous intentions. His designs, however, reverted upon his own head. The omrahs dispatched him by poison, some say without the king's knowledge, while others affirm that it was by his authority.

Malleck Feroze, the son of Malleck, chief of the Afghan tribe, called Chilligi, who was deputy governor of Sammana, came, by the king's orders, to court, and was honoured with the title of Shaista Khan, and made lord of requests, as also subah of Birren. Chigen was promoted to a high office at court, and Surcha was made chief secretary of the empire. These three divided the whole power of the government amongst them, while the king by this time became afflicted with the palsy, by which he lost the use of one side, and had his mouth distorted.

Every omrah of popularity or power, began now to intrigue for the empire, which obliged the friends of the royal family to take Keiomourse, a child of three years, son to the reigning emperor, out of the Haram, and to set him upon the throne. The army, upon this, split into two factions, who encamped on opposite sides of the city. The Tartars* espoused the cause of the young king, and the Chilligies, a powerful tribe of Afghans, joined Feroze, who usurped the throne. Upon the first disturbance, those Tartars, who had set up the young prince, jealous of the power of the Chilligies, assembled themselves, and proscribed all the principal Chilligian officers.

* They were mercenaries in the imperial army.

Ferose, being the first in the bloody list, immediately rebelled. Chigen had been deputed by the Tartar party, to invite Ferose to a conference with the sick king, and a plot was formed for his assassination. Ferose discovering his designs, drew upon the traitor, who came to invite him, and killed him at the door of his tent. The sons of Ferose, who were renowned for their valour, immediately put themselves at the head of five hundred chosen horse, and making an assault upon the camp of the Tartars, cut their way to the royal tents, which were pitched in the centre of the army, and seizing the infant king, carried him, and the son of Malleck ul Omrah, off, in spite of all opposition to their father. They killed Surcha, who pursued them, with many other men of distinction. When this exploit began to be noised abroad in the city, the mob flew immediately to arms. They marched out in thousands, and encamping at the Budaoon gate, prepared to go against Ferose, and rescue the infant king, for they greatly dreaded the power of the Chilligies, who were a fierce and savage race. Malleck ul Omrah, the old minister, so often mentioned, considering that this step would occasion the assassination of the young king, and of his own son, who was in their hands, exerted his great influence and authority among the people, and at length prevailed with them to disperse.

Ferose, in the mean time, sent an assassin to cut off the emperor Kei Kobad, who lay sick at his palace on the banks of the Jumna. The villain found this unfortunate prince dying upon his bed, deserted by all his attendants. He beat out the poor remains of life with a cudgel; then rolling him up in his bedclothes, threw him out of the window into the river. This assassin was a Tartar of some family, whose father had been unjustly put to death by Kei Kobad, and he now had a complete revenge.

When this horrid deed was perpetrated, Ferose ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Jellal ul dien, having put an end to the dynasty of Gaur, and commenced that of Chilligi. Chidju,

nephew to the emperor Balin, and who was now esteemed the just heir of the empire, was immediately appointed governor of Kurrak, and sent off to his government. Ferose marched into the palace, and was proclaimed with great solemnity in the city; and to complete his cruel policy, he made away with the young prince, that he might reign with the fuller security.

This great revolution happened in the year 687, A. D. 1289, the reign of Kei Kobad being somewhat more than three years; a time long and disastrous, if we regard the atrocities of Nizam, and the consequent overthrow of the family of Balin.

During the reign of Balin, and his grandson Kei Kobad, Cublai, the grandson of Gengis, sat on the Tartar throne, and completed the conquest of China. Hallacu, and after him his son Ilkan, reigned over the empire of Persia and Syria, in subordination to Cublai. Zagathai, the son of Gengis, and his posterity, were in possession of Maver-ul-nere, or Transoxiana, and the provinces to the north-west of the Indus, which had formerly composed the empire of Gazna.*

* For the contents of the preceding chapter, posterior to the death of Gengis, and for most of the following, Ferishta is the sole authority, and enables us to fill up the great chasm in Indian history, which Herbelot and Orme (see his prefatory Dissertation, p. 12.) declare they could not find materials to close. When we shall arrive at the æra of TIMUR's invasion, the Persian and Arab historians of the period will again become our collateral guides.

CHAPTER IV.

The AFGHAN Dynasty continued.—Account of the CHILLIGIES, a Tribe of Afghanistan.—12. FEROSE II. an avaritious Tyrant, who, by his General ALLA, first, of the Mohammedan Princes, invades the DECAN, and obtains incredible Treasures.—Murdered by that General, who usurps the Throne.—13. ALLA I. a valiant and magnificent, but ferocious and sanguinary Prince—extends his Conquests in the Decan.—14. OMAR, an Infant, deposed after a short Reign of three Months.—15. MUBARIC I. a Monster of Vice, assassinated by Chosro Khan, his Minister, who, for a short Time, usurps the Throne; but by the confederated Omrabs is driven from it and slain.—16. TUGLICK I. of Afghan Descent, and Leader of those Omrabs, by the general Voice ascends the Throne—a wise, politic, and virtuous Prince.—17. MOHAMMED III. a sanguinary Tyrant, distinguished only by Ambition and Rapacity—his vain Project to subjugate the Empire of China, and mad Effort to make Deogur the Capital of the Empire.—After reigning twenty-six Years this Scourge of Hindostan is succeeded by—18. FEROSE III. a benign and generous Prince—improves the Empire, desolated by his Predecessor, with Canals and other magnificent Undertakings.—After a long Reign of Justice and Glory he resigns his Throne to his Grandson.—19. TUGLICK II. a Slave to his Pleasures, and the Victim of his Imprudence—assassinated after a Reign of a few Months.—20. ABU BICKER, deposed, after a Reign of a Year and an half, by—21. MOHAMMED IV. the Son of Ferose.—Under him the Empire begins to decline. Succeeded by—22. MAHMUD II. an Infant, during whose Minority, as well as riper Years, it is torn to Pieces by contending Factions; which encourages the Invasion of the great TIMUR, who puts a Period to this Dynasty.

FEROSE II.

THE tribe of Chilligi, of whom Feroze was descended, inhabited the mountains of Gaur and Ghirgistan, on the confines of Persia, and were a brave and hardy, though barbarous race. They made war their business, and always served as mercenaries under any power that chose to employ them. The father of that Feroze, who mounted the throne of Delhi, was Malleck. He was one of those soldiers of fortune who subsist by the sword; and raised himself to some rank in the army of the emperor Balin. His son Feroze, being a man of genius, was appointed to the government of Sammana. He was called from thence, as before related, and usurped the empire.

He reserved, for some months, the young prince Keiomourse, by way of sanction to his usurpation; and having established himself upon the throne, he ordered him to be put to death. He was seventy years of age when he mounted the musnud. He, by way of plainness, changed the royal umbrella from red to white; laid entirely aside his cruelty, after the death of the young prince; and became remarkable for his humanity and benevolence. He had no great confidence in the loyalty of the people of Delhi, and therefore resided always at Kilogurry, which he strengthened with works, and adorned with fine gardens, and beautiful walks by the side of the river. The omrahs, following the emperor's example, built palaces around, so that Kilogurry became known by the name of the new city.

The citizens of Delhi, however, perceiving the wisdom, lenity, and justice of the king, were gradually weaned from their attachment to the old family, and became friends and supporters of the new government. Feroze himself was at much pains to cultivate popularity, and, for that purpose, he gave great encouragement to the learned of that age, who, in return, offered the incense of flattery at the altar of his fame. In the second year of Feroze, Chidju, nephew to Balin, and nabob of Kurrah, in alliance with Halim,

nabob of Oud, assumed the ensigns of royalty, and struck the currency of the country in his own name, which he changed to that of Moghiz ul dien. He brought over to his party all the rajahs and jaghiredars of those parts, and raising a great army, advanced towards Delhi.

Advices of this insurrection arriving in the capital, Feroze collected his forces, and marched out to meet the rebels. He sent the Chilligian cavalry, who excelled at the bow, a few miles in his front, under the command of Arkilli his own son. Arkilli, encountering the enemy, about twenty-five miles from the city, after an obstinate engagement, defeated them. He took several omrahs prisoners in the pursuit, whom he mounted upon camels, with branches hung round their necks; and in that plight sent them to his father. When Feroze saw them in this distress, he immediately ordered them to be unbound, to have a change of linen given them, and an elegant entertainment to be provided. He called them before him, and repeated a verse to this purpose, "That evil for evil was easily returned, but he only was great who could return good for evil." He then ordered them to retire, in full assurance of his forgiveness. Chidju, some days after, was taken by the zemindars, and sent prisoner to the king. Instead of condemning him to death, as was expected, Feroze gave him a free pardon, and sent him to Multan, where he had a handsome appointment for life, as prisoner at large. This lenity of the king gave great umbrage to the omrahs of Chilligi, who addressed him upon the occasion, and advised him to pursue the policy of Balin, who never pardoned a traitor. They desired, that, at least, a needle should be passed through the eyes of Chidju,* to be an example to others. If that was not done, they averred, that treason would soon raise its head in every quarter of the empire; and should the Tartars once gain the superiority, they would

* The eastern princes intended to be disqualified for reigning are sometimes blinded this way; but more generally by a hot iron drawn across their eyes.

not leave the name of Chilligi in Hindostan. The king answered, That what they said was certainly according to the true policy of government; "but, my friends," says he, "I am now an old man, and I wish to go down to the grave without shedding blood."

This behaviour of the emperor, it must be acknowledged, had soon the effect which the Chilligian chiefs foresaw. There was no security to be found in any place. The streets, the highways, were infested by banditti. Housebreaking, robbery, murder, and every other species of villainy, became a business all over the empire. Insurrections were heard of in every province, numerous gangs of robbers stopped all commerce and intercourse, and the nabobs refused or neglected to send any account of their revenues or administration.

The omrahs of Chilligi were greatly alarmed at these proceedings, and uttered aloud reproaches against their sovereign. They even began to consult about deposing him, and raising their kinsman Kugi, who was a man of influence, courage, and resolution, to the throne. For this purpose they met one day, at an entertainment in his house; but having intoxicated themselves, they began openly to talk of assassinating the emperor, quarrelling which of them should have the honour of that undertaking. While they were in this situation, one of the company privately withdrew, and, running to Ferose, repeated very circumstantially every particular of what he had heard. The emperor immediately ordered a guard to surround the house, who, having seized the omrahs, brought them all before him. Having upbraided them with their treason, he drew his sword, and throwing it down upon the ground, challenged the boldest of them to wield it against him. But they fell upon their faces, and remained silent and confounded. One of them, however, whose name was Malleck Nuserit, was gifted with more impudence than the rest, and told the king, that "the words of drunkenness were but wind: where can we find so good and gracious a king, if you should be no more? or where can the king get so faithful servants, were he to condemn

us for a little festive folly?" The unguarded prince was pleased with this, and, smiling, called for wine, and gave him another cup with his own hand. He then upbraided the rest for their conduct, advised them to behave better for the future, and dismissed them all with his pardon.

In the year 691, or A. D. 1291, one of the kinsmen of Hallacu, grandson of the great Gengis, and king of Persia, in subordination to his cousin, the emperor of Tartary, invaded Hindostan with ten tomans* of Moguls. Ferose, having received advices of the approach of the enemy, collected his army, and moved forward to oppose them. When he reached the frontiers of Biram, he saw the Moguls in front beyond a small river. Both armies encamped for the space of five days upon either side of this stream, during which time their advanced posts skirmished frequently, and many were killed.

The armies at last, by mutual consent, pitched upon an extensive plain where they might have room to contend for the victory. Accordingly, on the sixth morning, they drew up in order of battle, and closed up the dreadful interval of war. The Moguls, after an obstinate contest, were overthrown, many of their chiefs killed, and about a thousand men taken prisoners. Among the latter were two omrahs and several officers of rank. The emperor, notwithstanding this victory, was afraid to pursue it, and offered them peace, upon condition of their evacuating his dominions: They accordingly gladly accepted those terms, and presents were exchanged between them. When the Moguls were retreating, Hallacu, grandson to the great Gengis, joined Ferose with three thousand men. They all became Mussulmen, and their chief was honoured with one of Ferose's daughters in marriage.

The king, about this time, appointed his son Arkilli viceroy of Lahore, Multan, and Sind, with whom he left a strong force, and returned himself to his capital. To Hallacu, and the rest of the

* A toman consisted of 10,000 men.

Moguls who had now become true believers, was allotted a certain district near the city, where they built for themselves houses, and raised a considerable town, known by the name of Mogulpurra.

In the year 692, the emperor was under the necessity of marching his army again to quell an insurrection about Mindu, which fort he took, and put the enemy to flight. In the mean time, Alla-ul-dien, the king's nephew, and governor of Kurrah, a country bordering on the Decan, requested to be permitted to march against the Hindoos of Belsa, who infested his province. Having obtained leave, he marched the same year to Belsa, which he took, and, having pillaged the country, returned with much spoil, part of which was sent as a present to the emperor; among other things there was a large brazen idol, which was thrown down by the Budaoon gate. Feroze was greatly pleased with the success and behaviour of his nephew upon this expedition, for which he rewarded him with princely presents, and annexed the subadary of Oud to his former government of Kurrah.

FIRST MOHAMMEDAN INVASION OF DECAN.

Alla, upon this preferment, acquainted the king that there were some princes of great wealth towards Chinderi, whom, if his majesty should give him permission, he would reduce to his obedience, and send their spoils to the royal treasury. The king, through covetousness, consented to this proposal, to which Alla was moved by the violent temper of his wife Malleke Jehan, the king's daughter, who threatened his life. To avoid, therefore, her resentment, and that of her father, he looked round for some remote country which might afford him an asylum. Accordingly, in the year 698, he took leave of the king at Delhi, and, proceeding towards Kurrah, engaged many chiefs of distinction in his service. He marched with eight thousand chosen horse, by the nearest road, against Ramdeo, prince of Decan, who possessed the wealth of a long line of kings.

Alla, arriving upon the frontiers of the Decan, pressed forward against the capital of Ramdeo's dominions, which, not being fortified, he was in hopes of surprising. Though this attempt seemed too bold to be attended with success, yet he persisted in his resolution, and by rapid marches reached Elichpoor, where he made a short halt to refresh his small army. He marched from thence with equal expedition towards Deogur, the capital. Intelligence of Alla's progress coming to the prince, who, with his son, had been absent in a distant part of his dominions, he returned with great expedition to intercept the enemy with a numerous army. He accordingly threw himself between Alla and the city, engaged him with consummate bravery, but in the end he was defeated with great loss.

This expedition is otherwise recorded by another Eastern author, who says, that Alla left Kurrah on pretence of hunting, and having passed through the territories of many petty rajahs, avoided all hostilities, giving out that he had left the emperor in disgust, and was going to offer his services to the rajah of Tillingana, who was the most powerful king in the Decan. Accordingly, after two months march, he arrived without any remarkable opposition at Elichpoor, from whence, at once changing his course, he decamped in the night, and in two days surprised the city of Deogur, the capital of Ramdeo. The rajah himself was in the city, but his wife and his eldest son had gone to worship at a certain temple without the walls.

Ramdeo, upon the approach of Alla, was in the greatest consternation. He however collected three or four thousand citizens and domestics, and engaged Alla at one of the gates of the city, but, being defeated, retired into the citadel. This fort having no ditch, and not being stored with provisions, he had no hopes of defending it long. Alla immediately invested the place. In the mean time he gave out, that he was only the vanguard of the emperor's army, who were following in full march. This struck universal terror into

all the rajahs round, who instead of joining for the general safety, began to secure themselves. Alla having pillaged the city and seized upon the merchants, brahimins, and principal inhabitants, tortured them for their wealth; while he at the same time carried on the siege of the citadel.

Ramdeo seeing he must soon be obliged to yield, and imagining that the emperor intended to make a general conquest of the Decan, endeavoured to procure a peace before any other forces arrived. He told him, in a letter, that his invasion of that country was impolitic and rash; that the rajahs of the Decan commanded innumerable armies, who would soon surround him and cut off his retreat; and he offered him considerable presents, if he would retire without committing farther depredations.

Alla was very glad to accept of that offer, and having received fifty maunds of gold, a large quantity of pearls and jewels, fifty elephants, and several thousand horses, which were taken in the rajah's stables, he released his prisoners, and promised to abandon the place in the morning of the fifteenth day from his first entrance. But when Alla was preparing to retreat, Ramdeo's eldest son, who had fled with his mother, on the first appearance of the imperial troops, to collect forces, advanced with a numerous army, within a few miles of the city. Ramdeo sent a message to his son, informing him, that peace was finally concluded. He therefore ordered him not to open again the door of contest, for that he perceived the Tartars were a warlike race; more desirable as friends than foes. The young prince, however, understanding that his army was thrice the number of the enemy, and hourly expecting to be joined by other princes, with numerous forces, listened not to the commands of his father, but wrote to Alla in these terms: "If you desire life and safety, extricate yourself from this horrible abyss, into which you have plunged yourself. Whatever you have plundered and received, you must return, and take your way homeward, rejoicing in your

permitted escape." Alla, upon reading this insolent letter, kindled into a great rage, and blackening the face of the messenger, hooted him out of the city. He left Malleck to invest the citadel with a thousand horse, and immediately marched with the rest of the army to attack the rajah's son.

The Indian by no means declined the offered battle. He drew forth his numerous squadrons, and the battle commenced with such violence, that even the stout heart of Alla trembled for the victory. His troops began to fall back on all sides. In the mean time Malleck, having learned by his scouts the situation of affairs, left the citadel without orders, and galloping up to the field of battle, with his thousand horse, changed the fortune of the day. The dust having prevented the enemy from discovering the force of Malleck, some person cried out, that the Tartar army, of whose coming they had heard, was arrived. This spread instantly a panic through the Indian ranks, and they at once turned their face to flight. Alla did not think proper to pursue them far, but immediately returned into the city, and invested the citadel.

A scene of cruelty and horror now commenced. The Tartars, enraged at the perfidy of the Hindoos, for their breach of the treaty, began to spread fire and slaughter through the city; from which no discipline could restrain them. Several of the rajah's kindred, who had been taken prisoners, were put in chains, and hurled headlong from the walls. Ramdeo, in the mean time, sent express upon express, to hasten the succours which he expected from the kings of Kilbirga, Tillingana, Malva, and Candeish; but was informed that there remained no provisions in the place, for that a great number of bags, which, they conceived, were full of rice, had been found, upon examination, to contain nothing but salt.

Ramdeo was greatly perplexed; he commanded that this should be concealed from the troops, and began a second time to propose a treaty and terms with Alla. But Alla, from the behaviour of

Ramdeo, perceived the true cause of his proposals, and therefore started every day some new difficulty to retard the treaty, till the garrison was in the utmost distress. But at length it was concluded, according to our author, upon the following almost incredible terms; that Alla should receive, upon consideration of evacuating the country, six hundred maunds of pure gold, according to the weights of the Decan,* seven maunds of pearl, two maunds of diamonds, rubies, emerald, and sapphires, one thousand maunds of silver, four thousand pieces of silk, and a long list of other precious commodities that surpass all belief. This ransom was not only required, but also the cession of Elichpoor, and its dependencies, where Alla might leave a small garrison, which should remain there unmolested, to collect the revenues.

Alla having settled affairs to his satisfaction, released all his prisoners, marched in triumph out of the city with his plunder, and proceeded on his way homeward, on the twenty-fifth day after his taking the city. He conducted his retreat with such surprising address, that he opened his way through extensive and powerful kingdoms; through Malva, Conduana, Candeish, and others, though he was surrounded by numerous armies, who, admiring his order and resolution, made but faint and irresolute attacks, which served only to adorn his triumph. We may here justly remark, that, in the long volume of history, there is scarcely any thing to be compared with this exploit, whether we regard the resolution in forming the plan, the boldness of the execution of it, or the good fortune which attended the attempt. We cannot help lamenting that a man, formed for such great exploits, should not be actuated by better motives than rapine, violence, and the thirst of gain.

In the mean time Feroze received private intelligence, that Alla had conquered Deogur, and had acquired there such wealth, as had never been possessed by an emperor of Delhi, and that he was now

* The maund of the Decan is 25lb, avoirdupoise.

upon his march towards Kurrah. The king was greatly pleased with this intelligence, and reckoned upon the spoil, as if already in his own treasury. But men of sound wisdom thought otherwise; and justly concluded, that it was not to fill the royal coffers that Alla, without the king's authority, had undertaken such a daring expedition. They however waited to see the event, without informing the king of their suspicions.

Not many days after, the address of Alla was brought to him, setting forth, that " he was the king's slave, and that all his wealth was consecrated to him; that being wearied with a tedious march, he begged for some repose at Kurrah. That he intended to kiss the footstool of the throne, but that, knowing he had some enemies at court, who might have, in his absence, defamed him, and deprived him of his majesty's favour, he, and the chiefs who accompanied him in the expedition, in which he was sensible he had exceeded his orders, were apprehensive that some punishment might be inflicted upon them. That he therefore requested to have a letter of grace, to assure him and his followers of perfect safety, under the royal protection." The king having received this address, expressed great joy, and entirely laid aside all suspicions of Alla. He ordered a letter full of kindness, and the most solemn assurances of protection, to be written to him, and dispatched by the hands of two messengers of distinction.

In the mean time Alla was preparing to retreat to Bengal. He was now joined by all the zemindars of the neighbouring districts, who enlisted themselves under his fortunate banners. The messengers perceived plainly his intentions, but they were detained, and watched so strictly, that they could send no advices to the king. Almass, who was also son-in-law and nephew to Ferose, in the mean time received advices from his brother Alla, " That it was now become public at Kurrah, that the king intended certainly to take his life, for proceeding to Deogur contrary to his orders :

That he repented the occasion, and had taken his majesty's displeasure, which to him was worse than death, so much to heart, that he was afraid excess of sorrow would put an end to his melancholy life. He therefore requested, that his brother should inform him before the king put his design in execution, that he might either take poison, or look out for a place of security."

Letters to the same purpose were, day after day, wrote to his brother Almass, who, being in the plot, was constantly at court, and shewed them to the king, seemingly distracted, lest his brother should lay violent hands upon himself, or fly his country. He used a thousand delusive arts to inveigle the king to Kurrah, who no less feared the loss of the treasure than his nephew's life. The old man, at last, took the golden bait, and embarked, with a thousand horse and a small retinue, on the Ganges, ordering his general Ahmed to follow with the army by land.

Alla, hearing of the departure of Feroze from Delhi, crossed the Ganges with his army, and encamped near Mannickpoor, upon the opposite bank. When, upon the seventeenth of Ramzan, the imperial umbrella appeared in sight, Alla drew out his army, on pretence of doing honour to the emperor, and sent his brother Almass, who had come on before to concert measures to introduce Feroze into camp. This artful traitor represented to Feroze, that if he should take the thousand horse with him, Alla might be alarmed; for that some bad people had confirmed him so strongly in his fears, that all he could say to him was not sufficient entirely to expel his suspicions.

The weak old king, suspecting nothing of this horrid treachery from a man whom he had cherished from his infancy in his bosom, gave in to this proposal. He ordered a few of his select friends into his own boat, and commanded the fleet to remain at some distance behind. When they reached the landing place, Alla appeared upon the bank with his attendants, whom he ordered to halt. He himself advancing alone met the emperor just after he had landed upon the

beach, and fell down prostrate at his feet. The old man in a familiar manner tapped him on the cheek, and raising him up, embraced him, saying, “ I have brought you up from your infancy, and cherished you with a fatherly affection, holding you dearer in my sight, if possible, than my own offspring, how then could you imagine I should entertain a thought to your prejudice, much less meditate a plan for your destruction ?” Then taking him by the hand, he was leading him back to the royal barge, when the obdurate ruffian made a signal to his assassins who stood behind. Mahmud, the son of Salim, rushed immediately forward, and wounded the king with his sword in the shoulder. The unfortunate monarch ran forward to gain the barge, crying, “ Ah ! villain Alla, what dost thou ?” but before he had reached the boat, another of the assassins coming up, seized the old man, and throwing him on the ground, barbarously cut off his head, just as the sun sunk in the west, as if to avoid the horrid sight. *

All his attendants were then murdered. They fixed the venerable head of their lord upon the point of a spear, and carried it through the camp and city, as a bloody spectacle to the gazing crowd, who were shocked and disgusted at the sight.

Alla immediately exalted the white umbrella over his own head ; but the vengeance of heaven soon after fell heavy on all who were concerned in the assassination of Feroze.

ALLA I.

Intelligence of the murder of the king having reached Ahmed, who was advancing with the army, he retreated to Delhi. Malleke Jehan, the wife of Feroze, and queen regent, imprudently, and without consulting the chiefs, raised to the diadem Ruckun, her youngest son ; Arkilli, the elder son, being then at Multan. She accompanied him from Kilogurry to Delhi, and placed him on the throne in the

* He reigned seven years and some months.

green palace, though as yet but a boy, and altogether unacquainted with the affairs of state. She also divided the provinces among her own party. Arkilli, who was the true heir to the empire, and possessed all the qualities of a king, was greatly afflicted at this news, but thought proper, for the present, to remain at Multan.

Alla, upon receiving intelligence of these transactions at Delhi, laid aside his intended expedition to Bengal, and prepared to march to the capital, though it was then the rainy season. He raised a great army in his government, and conferred titles and rewards upon his friends. By the advice of Nuserit, he distributed presents among the army, and wherever he encamped he amused himself with throwing gold from a sling among the people. This liberality, in a short time, brought a multitude of mercenary soldiers under his banners. The queen-mother was thrown into great perplexity, by the advices she daily received concerning Alla. She dispatched an express to Multan, for her son Arkilli; but that prince returned for answer, that it was now too late; since, before he could arrive, the imperial troops would join the enemy; that therefore his coming could be of no real service; that the stream might have been diverted at its source, but when it became a river, no dams could oppose it.

Alla made no delay on his march. He crossed the Jumna, and encamped without the north-east gate of Delhi. Ruckun, fluttering like a solitary fowl, collected all his forces, and marching out of the city, paraded before the enemy. But when he saw them preparing for battle, he retreated into the city. He was that night deserted by a great number of omrahs, who went over with their forces to Alla. Ruckun now saw no safety but in flight. Taking therefore his mother, the haram, and treasure with him, he hastened to Multan. The citizens, after the departure of the young king, crowded forth to pay their respects to Alla. He immediately ordered the current money to be struck in his own name, and making a triumphant entry into Delhi, in the latter end of the year 695, or A. D. 1295,

ascended the throne, and kept his court at the red palace. He exhibited shows, and made grand festivals, encouraging every species of riot and debauchery; which so pleased the unthinking rabble, that they soon lost all memory of their former king, and the execrable villainy of the reigning emperor. The man who ought to have been hooted and abhorred, became the object of admiration, to those who could not see the darkness of his deeds, through the splendour of his magnificence.

Whilst he gained, by these means, popularity among the vulgar, he secured the great with titles, and bought the covetous with gold. The office of vizier was bestowed upon Chaja Chatire, a man renowned for his virtue in those degenerate times; Arif was made chief justice of the court of equity, and Omdat was raised to the office of principal secretary of the divan, being a man of great learning and genius, and a favourite of the king. Nuserit was appointed chief magistrate of Delhi, Kudgi was raised to the dignity of chief justice in the courts of law, and Ziffer to that of chief secretary of the empire; with many others, to high offices, which are too tedious to mention. Alla, having advanced six months pay to his whole army, began to concert means to extirpate the descendants of Ferose. He dispatched Elich, his brother, and Ziffer, with forty thousand horse, towards Multan, who, upon their arrival, invested that city. After a siege of two months, the citizens and troops betrayed the cause of the prince Arkilli, and gave up the place to the enemy. The two unfortunate brothers, being driven to great distress, surrendered themselves at last to Elich, upon promise of personal safety.

The object of this expedition being thus completed, Elich wrote to his brother an account of his victory, which was read in all the public pulpits after divine worship, and great rejoicings were ordered to be made upon the occasion. Elich proceeded in triumph with his army and state prisoners to Delhi. He was met on his

way by Nuserit, chief magistrate of the city, who had been sent by the emperor to put out the eyes of the prisoners. This cruel order was executed upon the two princes, and they were then sent into confinement in the fort of Hassi, where, soon after, they were both assassinated.

In the second year of this reign, Chaja Chatire, not falling entirely in with Alla's policy, was dismissed from the office of vizier, which was conferred upon Nuserit, chief magistrate of Delhi. This minister redemanded all the sums which the king, upon his accession, had bestowed upon the nobility and people, which occasioned great disgust and disturbance.

During these transactions, advices came to Delhi, that Dova, king of Maver-ul-nere, had sent an army of one hundred thousand Moguls, with a design to conquer Multan, Punjab, and the provinces near the mouth of the Indus : that they were advancing with great expedition, carrying all before them with fire and sword. Alla immediately ordered his brother Elich, with a great force, to expel them. The two armies having met in the districts of Lahore, a bloody conflict ensued, in which the Moguls were defeated, with the loss of twelve thousand men, and many of their principal officers, besides a number of prisoners of all ranks, who were put to the sword some days after, without sparing the poor women and children who had been taken in the Mogul camp. These two victories raised the fame of the emperor's arms to a high pitch of reputation, established his authority at home, and overawed his foreign enemies.

In the beginning of the year 697, Elich, the king's brother, and Nuserit, the vizier, were sent with a great army to reduce Guzerat. They accordingly laid waste that beautiful country, took the capital city Narwalla, which was deserted by its prince, who fled for protection to Ramdeo, king of Deogur, in the Decan. By the aid of that prince he soon after returned and took possession of Baglana, one of the districts of Guzerat, bordering upon Ramdeo's dominions ;

but his wives, children, elephants, baggage, and treasure fell into the hands of the enemy when he fled. The vizier, with a part of the army, proceeded then to Cambay, which being a rich country, and full of merchants, yielded a prodigious treasure to those sons of cruelty and rapine. When they had sufficiently glutted their avarice, and quenched their thirst for blood, they appointed subahs to the provinces, and leaving part of the army for their defence, returned with their plunder towards Delhi.

About this time, Jildoo, a Mogul chief, and his brother, came down with a considerable force, and took the fort of Seostan. Ziffer marched against him, and having invested the place, he took it. Jildoo, and about two thousand Moguls, were taken prisoners, and sent in chains to Delhi. But Ziffer had distinguished himself so much as a brave commander in this expedition, that his fame awaked the jealousy of Alla. He therefore designed to deprive him of his government, but was prevented from this measure, by a great invasion of Moguls, under Cuttulich, the son of Dova, king of Maver-ul-nere. The army of the invaders consisted of two hundred thousand horse, and they promised to themselves the entire conquest of Hindostan. Cuttulich, accordingly, took possession of all the countries beyond the Indus on his march, and protected them from all violence. He then crossed the river, and proceeded to Delhi without opposition, Ziffer retreating with his army before him.

The whole country, in terror of the Moguls, crowded into the city. The crowd became so great, that the streets were rendered impassable, and all business and communication were interrupted. This however was but the beginning of their misfortunes. In the space of a few days, the consumption being great, and no supplies procured, a dreadful famine began to rage, and distraction to stare in every countenance. Alla, upon this pressing occasion, called a council of his omrahs, and, having regulated his plan of action, prepared for battle, notwithstanding they all endeavoured to dissuade

him from it. He left the care of the city to the noble Alla, marched out at the Budaoon gate, with three hundred thousand horse, and two thousand seven hundred elephants, besides foot without number. He drew up in order of battle, on the plains beyond the suburbs; where the enemy were already formed to receive him. From the time that first the spears of Islam* were exalted in Hindostan, two such mighty armies had not joined in fight

Alla gave the command of his right wing to Ziffer, the greatest general of that age, where all the troops of Punjab, Multan, and Sind, were posted. The left was entrusted to his brother Elich, and to Akit his brother-in-law. The king posted himself in the centre, with twelve thousand independent volunteers, who were mostly gentlemen of ruined families, and soldiers of fortune. With the choice of his elephants, he formed a tremendous line in his front, and he supported his rear with another chosen body of cavalry, under the vizier. Ziffer began the action with great impetuosity on the right, and breaking, with his elephants, the enemy's line, commenced a dreadful slaughter, and bore them like a torrent before him. Inclining then to the left, he pressed upon their flank, and put their whole army to flight, before the action was well begun in the centre. Alla, seeing the victory complete, ordered his brother Elich, who commanded on the left, to advance and pursue the enemy; but the perfidious prince, jealous of the glory of Ziffer, stopt at a small distance, while Ziffer continued the slaughter for upwards of thirty miles. One of the Mogul chiefs, who commanded the left, seeing Ziffer was not supported, rallied with ten thousand horse, and sending advice to his general Cuttulich, he also returned with ten thousand more, and attacked Ziffer in the rear. The brave general saw his error, but it was now too late to retreat. He drew up his troops, which were not half the enemy's number, divided into two squadrons, and again renewed the conflict, exhibiting wonders

* The Mohammedians.

by his own valour. At last his horse's leg being cut off by a sabre, he fell to the ground. He however rose again, seized a bow and quiver, and being a dextrous archer, sent death on the wings of his arrows. The most part of his men were, by this time, either killed or fled; and Cuttulich, admiring his bravery, called out to him to submit, and his valour should be rewarded with such honours as he deserved. Ziffer replied sternly, "I know no greater honour than to die in discharging my duty." Then he began to deal his arrows around. The Mogul prince, upon this, ordered a party of horse to surround him, and endeavour to take him alive; but Ziffer refused to submit, and was at last cut in pieces, with a few trusty servants who stood by him to the last.

This advantage however did not dispel the fears of the Moguls. They continued their retreat, and evacuated India with all expedition. The bravery of Ziffer became famous among the Moguls. When their horses started, or were unruly, they used wantonly to ask them, Whether they saw the ghost of Ziffer? Alla, it is said, esteemed the death of this great general as a second victory, and could not help expressing his satisfaction upon the occasion; and thus displayed his own base ingratitude, for that brave life which had been thrown away in his unworthy service. Great rejoicings were made at Delhi, to celebrate the victory; and the principal officers were rewarded with titles and governments, according to their behaviour and interest at court. Some who had behaved ill were disgraced, particularly one omrah, who was led upon an ass all round the city.

The king, in the year 699, according to the advice of Alla-ul-Muluck, called his brother Elich from Semana, the vizier from Kurrah, and others from their respective subadaries, and sent them, with a great army against the Indian prince of Rantampore. They soon took the fort of Jain, and afterwards invested the capital. Nuserit, the vizier, advancing near the wall, was crushed to death by a stone

from an engine ; and the rajah, at the same time, sallying with forty thousand men, drove Elich back to Jain with great loss.

Elich wrote to Delhi the particulars of this defeat. Alla flew into a violent rage, and immediately took the field. Upon his march he halted for a day at a place called Jilput, and went out on a hunting match. Having wandered far from his camp, in the chase, he remained with his attendants all night in the forest. In the morning, before sunrise, he placed himself upon a rising ground, where he sat down with two or three attendants, and commanded the rest to hunt in his view. Akit observing this, recollected that it was now in his power to cut off the king, in the same manner as the king himself had cut off his predecessor. He thought, that being nephew and brother-in-law to the emperor, he might justly claim the same title which Alla himself had to the throne.* Akit imparted his resolution to a few chosen horsemen, who accompanied him on this party. They immediately rode up to the king, saluted him with a flight of arrows, two of which entered his body, so that he lay for dead on the ground. Akit, upon this drew his sword, and ran to cut off his head ; when he was told by one of the king's attendants, that he was quite dead ; that therefore to cut off his head would be an unnecessary piece of cruelty.

Akit being thus prevailed upon to desist from his intentions, set out for the camp with all expedition, mounted the throne, and proclaimed the king's death. The army was thrown into great confusion ; but where loyal affection and patriotism are things unknown, mankind are satisfied to bow their necks to any new master. The great men assembled to pay their court and present their presents upon the occasion ; the customary service was read from the koran ; the chutba was proclaimed aloud, and the singers ordered to extol his praise. Akit then rose from the throne, and proceeded towards the haram ; but Dinar, the chief eunuch, with his guard, stopped

* Alla was himself nephew and son-in-law to Ferose, whom he had murdered.

him at the door, swearing, that till he shewed him Alla's head, or put him to death, he should not enter. Alla, in the mean time, recovered his senses, and, having his wounds bound up, imagined that Akit's treason and treachery were a preconcerted conspiracy of the omrahs. He signified his intentions to fly to his brother Elich at Jain, with about sixty servants, who still attended him. Malleck Hamid, deputy porter of the presence, advised the king against this resolution. He told him, that he ought immediately to go to his own camp, and there shew himself to his army; for that the usurper had not yet time to establish himself; and that, upon seeing the emperor's umbrella, he doubted not but the whole army would immediately return to their duty. He observed, at the same time, that the least delay might render his affairs irrecoverable.

Alla saw the propriety of this resolute advice; and mounting his horse, with great difficulty, spread the white umbrella, which lay on the field, over his head, and with his small retinue, proceeded towards the army. When he appeared in sight, being joined by some foraging parties on the way, he was now guarded by about five hundred men. He ascended an eminence, in full view of the camp, where he was at once seen by the whole army. They crowded in thousands towards him; and the court of the usurper was immediately broke up, and in a few minutes he found himself alone. In this situation he mounted his horse, and, distracted with fear, fled towards Binour. Alla now marched down from the eminence towards the royal pavilion, and mounting the throne, gāvé public audience; sending, at the same time, a party of horse after the usurper. They soon came up with him, and brought back his head. The king ordered the usurper's brother Cuttulich, and the chief conspirators, to be put to death.

When Alla recovered of his wounds, he continued his march to Rantampore, where he was joined by his brother Elich, and began to besiege the place. But the Hindoos so well defended themselves,

that numbers of the imperial army daily fell. Alla, however continued his attacks with redoubled obstinacy, while detachments of his army ravaged the adjacent territories of Malva and Daar. But the siege being protracted for some months without much effect, Omar and Mungu, who were both nephews to the emperor, and held the governments of Budaoon and Oud, rebelled, and raised a great army. Alla wrote letters to the several omrahs of those provinces whom he thought loyal, as also to the neighbouring subahs and zemindars, and they levied forces, engaged, defeated, and took the rebels, and sent them both prisoners to the royal camp. The emperor ordered their eyes to be put out, and themselves to be tortured to death, as a barbarous example to others.

Rantampore had now been closely besieged for a whole year, and Alla after trying all other means, fell upon the following expedient to take the place. He collected together a great multitude of people, and provided each of them with a bag, which they filled with earth, and having begun at some distance from the rock, with immense labour, formed an ascent to the top of the walls, by which the troops entered the place, and put the Indian prince Amir Deo, his family, and the garrison, to the sword. This fort is esteemed the strongest in Hindostan. Mohammed, the Mogul general, who had taken refuge in Rantampore, after the mutiny at Jalore, having lost most of his men in defence of the fort, was himself lying ill of his wounds when Alla entered the place. Alla, finding the unfortunate Mohammed in this condition, asked him, in an insulting manner, "What gratitude would he express for his lord, should he command his wounds to be immediately cured?" The Mogul fiercely replied, "I would put him to death for a tyrant, and endeavour to make the son of Amir Deo, to whom my gratitude is due, king." The emperor, enraged at this reply, threw him beneath the feet of an elephant; but considering afterwards that he was a brave man, and one of whose gallant behaviour he himself had been often witness, he

ordered his body to be put in a coffin, and interred with decent solemnity. Alla then commanded that the rajah's vizier, who had deserted over to him with a strong party during the siege, should, with all his followers, be massacred. Saying, upon the occasion, that "those who have betrayed their natural lord, can never be true to another!" Having bestowed the government of Rantampore, with all the riches taken in it, upon his brother Elich, he returned with his army to Delhi. But Elich, about six months after, fell sick, and died on his way to the capital.

Alla, much about this time, sent an army, by the way of Bengal, to reduce the fort of Arinkil, which was in the possession of the rajah of Tillingana. He himself moved the royal standard towards Chitor, which had never before been reduced by the troops of the Mohammedans. After a siege of six months he took the place, in the year 703, conferred the government of it upon his eldest son Chizer, and called it the city of Chizer. He at the same time bestowed upon Chizer regal dignities and authority.

Intelligence of this expedition arriving at Maver-ul-nere, Jirghi, who distinguished himself formerly against Ziffer, thinking that Alla would be a long time absent, seized that opportunity for invading Hindostan. Alla, hearing of this dangerous inroad, abandoned all his schemes against the Decan, and made what haste he could with his army to Delhi. Jirghi, with twelve tomans of Mogul horse, approached, in a few days, the city, and encamped upon the banks of the Jumna. The horse of the imperial army being absent on the expedition to Arinkil, the king was in no condition to face, upon equal terms, so powerful and warlike an enemy in the field. He therefore contented himself with entrenching his army in the plain beyond the suburbs, till he could draw the forces of the distant subahs together. But the Moguls, having the command of the adjacent country, prevented the succours from joining the king, and proceeded so far as to plunder the suburbs, in the king's presence, without his

being able to prevent them. In this situation stood affairs for two months; and then Alla, say some authors, had recourse to supernatural aid. He applied to a saint of those days, whose name was Nizam Aulia. The saint, in one night, without any visible cause, struck the Mogul army with a panic, which occasioned their precipitate retreat to their own country. But we have no reason to ascribe the flight of the Moguls to so weak and superstitious a cause; as private orders, intelligence, or the improbability of success, brought about their sudden departure more than the power of the saint. The king, during this alarming period, was heard to confess, that his ideas of universal conquest were idle and ridiculous, for that there were many heads in the world as subtle as his own.

Alla, being relieved from the perils of this invasion, built a palace upon the spot where he had entrenched himself, and ordered the citadel of Delhi to be pulled down and built anew. He then began to recruit his army, with an intention to retaliate upon the Moguls their repeated inroads. He increased his forces to such a prodigious number, that, upon calculating the expense, he found his revenues, and what treasures he had himself could not support them above six years. He resolved therefore to reduce the pay, but it occurred to him that this could not be done with propriety, without lowering, proportionably, the price of horses, arms, and provisions. This he did by an edict, which he strictly enforced all over the empire, settling the price of every article at about half the common rate, which, in fact, was just doubling his treasures and revenues.

To establish this reduction of the price, with respect to grain, he ordered great magazines to be built upon the rivers Jumna and Ganges, and other places convenient for water carriage, under the direction of Malleck Cabuli. This collector received half of the land-tax in grain; and the royal agents supplied the markets at a stated price. To prevent any monopoly in this article, every farmer was allowed to retain only a certain quantity, according to the number

of his family, and send the overplus, as soon as it was threshed out, to market, for which he was obliged to take the standing price. The importation of grain was encouraged; but to export it, or any other article of provisions, was a capital crime. The king himself had a daily report laid before him, of the quantity sold and remaining in the several royal granaries, and spies were appointed in the different markets, to inform him of abuses, which he punished with the utmost rigour.

Alla appointed also a public office, and inspectors, who fixed the price of the various kinds of cloth, according to its quality, obliging the merchants to open their shops at certain hours every day, and sell their goods at a stipulated price. He at the same time opened a loan, by which they were enabled to procure ready money to import cloth from the neighbouring countries, where the poverty of the people rendered their manufactures cheaper. But what is somewhat unaccountable, the exportation of the finer kind of manufacture was prohibited, yet not permitted to be worn at home, except by special authority from the king, which favour was only conferred upon men of rank.

As horses had risen to an immense price, by an association of the dealers, who only bought up a certain number from the Persian and northern merchants to enhance the value; the king published an edict, by which they were obliged to register the prices paid for them, and to sell them at a certain profit within such a time, if that price was offered them, otherwise the king took them upon his own account. The price of the horse varied at the same time according to his quality; and care was taken by that means, that the merchants and dealers in those animals should not have an opportunity, by secret connivance, to raise the price. Many frauds being found in this article some time after, a great number of horse-dealers were whipt out of the city, and others put to death. Oxen, sheep, goats, camels, and asses, were also taken into consideration; and, in short,

every useful animal, and all commodities, were sold at a stated price in the markets.

The king having thus regulated the prices of things, his next care was to new-model his army. He settled the pay of every horseman, for himself and horse, from 234 rupees a year down to 80, according to the goodness of the horse ; and, upon a muster, he found his cavalry to consist of four hundred and seventy-five thousand.

In the mean time Ali, one of the grandsons of Gengis Khan, and Chaja, with forty thousand horse, made an irruption into Hindostan, but the emperor sending Tuglick with a force against them, they were defeated, with the loss of seven thousand. Ali and Chaja, with nine thousand of their troops, were taken prisoners. They were sent in chains to the king, who ordered the chiefs to be thrown under the feet of an elephant, and the soldiers to be inhumanly massacred. He appointed Tuglick, for this service, viceroy of Punjab.

The prince of Chitor, who had been prisoner since the emperor took that place, found in the mean time means to make his escape, in a very extraordinary manner. Alla, having heard extravagant things in praise of the beauty and accomplishments of one of the rajah's daughters, told him, that if he would send her he should, upon her account, be released. The rajah, who was very ill treated in his confinement, consented, and sent for his daughter, with a manifest design to prostitute her to the king. The prince's family, hearing this dishonourable proposal, concerted means of poisoning the rajah, to save their own reputation. But the daughter, being a girl of invention, proposed a stratagem to release her father, and at the same time to preserve her own honour. She accordingly wrote to her father to give notice, that she was coming with all her attendants, and would be at Delhi upon a certain day, acquainting him with the part she intended to act. Her contrivance was this: She selected a number of enterprising fellows, who, in complete armour,

concealed themselves in doolies or close chairs, in which the women are always carried ; she provided for them a chosen retinue of horse and foot, as customary to guard ladies of rank. She herself, by this time, had, by her father's means, received the imperial passport, and the whole cavalcade proceeded to Delhi, and were admitted without interruption. It was now night, and, by the king's order, they were permitted to see the rajah. The chairs being carried into the prison, and the attendants having taken their stations without ; the armed men started out of the chairs, and putting all to the sword within the courts, carried the rajah out, and, having horses prepared for him, he mounted, and, with his attendants, rushed out of the city before any opposition could be made, and fled to his own country.

In the year 705, Kabeik, an omrah of Dova, prince of Maver-ul-nere, with design to revenge the death of Ali and Chaja, invaded Hindostan with a great army, and, ravaging Multan, proceeded to Sewalic. Tuglick, in the mean time, collecting his forces, cut off the retreat of the Moguls, before any troops arrived from Delhi, and defeated them with great slaughter. Those who escaped the sword, finding it impossible to force their way home, retired into the desert, where thirst and the hot winds which blow at that season, put an end to their miserable lives ; so that out of fifty-seven thousand horse, besides their attendants, who were still more numerous, only three thousand, who were taken prisoners, survived this horrid scene. The unhappy captives were only reserved for greater misery. They were sent to Delhi with their unfortunate chief, Kabeik, where they were all trodden to death by elephants, except some women and children, who were sold in the market for slaves.

SECOND MOHAMMEDAN INVASION OF DECAN.

In the mean time Alla was employed in settling the internal policy and government of his empire: and with such fortunate perseverance in whatever he undertook, that the superstition of the times ascribed his success to supernatural power. Ramdeo, king of Deogur in the Decan, having neglected to send the revenues of that district which he assigned over to the emperor by treaty, Cafoor, the favourite of Alla, with many omrahs of renown, and a great army, was ordered to conquer the Decan.

In the beginning of the year 706, they marched from Delhi, with an army of an hundred thousand horse, and were joined in their way, by Multani, governor of Malava, and Alip, subah of Guzerat, with their forces.

One of the emperor's wives, the fair Conladè, hearing of this expedition, addressed herself to the king, and told him, that before she was taken prisoner, she had two beautiful daughters to her former husband: that one of them, she heard, had since died; but that the other, whose name was Dewildè, was still alive. She therefore begged that the emperor should give orders to his generals to endeavour to get her into their possession, and send her to Delhi. The king consented, and gave orders accordingly.

Cafoor, having passed through Malava, encamped upon the borders of the Decan. He sent the imperial order to the prince Kirren, to deliver up his daughter Dewildè, which was now urged as a pretext for commencing hostilities in case of a refusal. The rajah could by no means be brought to agree to this demand. Cafoor therefore marched from his camp at Nidderbar, while Alip, with his forces from Guzerat, was taking the route of the mountains of Baglana, to enter the Decan by another pass. He was opposed by Kirren, who defeated all his attempts for two months, in which time several undecisive actions were fought.

With respect to Cafoor, he first subdued the country of the Mah-rattas, which he divided among his omrahs, then proceeded to the siege of Deogur, since known by the name of Dowlat-abad. Ramdeo being in no condition to oppose this great army, prudently left his son Singeldeo in the fort, and advanced himself, with great presents, to the conqueror, to procure peace, which was accordingly settled between them. Cafoor, upon this, dispatched a writing of victory to the king, and some time after brought Ramdeo, with rich presents and seventeen elephants, to pay his allegiance to him at Delhi, where he himself was received with the most extravagant marks of favour and distinction. Ramdeo had royal dignities conferred upon him, with the title of Rai Raian,* and had not only the government of his own dominions restored to him, but others were also added; for all which he did homage and paid tribute to the sultan. The king moreover gave him the district of Nosari, near Guzerat, by way of jaghire, and a lack of rupees to bear his expences home. Thus he dismissed Ramdeo with princely generosity; having, in some measure, looked upon the wealth, of which he had formerly robbed him, as the foundation of all his own greatness. And he perhaps thought that some grateful return was due to the rajah upon this account.

During the absence of Cafoor in his expedition to the Decan, the king employed himself in taking a strong fort to the southward of Delhi, called Sewana, which had often been attempted in vain. When the prince of this place found he could hold out no longer, he sent his own image, which had been cast in pure gold, to Alla, with a chain round its neck, in token of obedience. This present was accompanied with a hundred elephants, and other precious effects, in hopes of procuring peace. Alla received the presents, but returned him for answer, that unless he came and made his submission in person, he could hope little from his dumb representative.

* Prince of Princes.

The rajah, finding the emperor inexorable, threw himself upon his mercy, and delivered up the place. He plundered and again restored it: but he alienated a great part of the rajah's country to his favourite omrahs, and bound him over to pay homage for the rest. He then proceeded to Jallire, which he took, and returned to Delhi.

The emperor, much about this time, was informed that the expedition, by the way of Bengal, to Arinkil, in the country of Tillingana, had not succeeded, and that his army on that side had been obliged to retreat in great distress. In the year 709, he dispatched Cafoor with a great force to invade that country, by the way of Deogur; with orders, that if Lidderdeo, prince of Arinkil, should consent to give him a handsome present, and promise an annual tribute, to return without prosecuting the war any further. When Cafoor and Chaja had reached Deogur, Ramdeo came out to meet them with offerings, and carrying them home, entertained them with great hospitality, ordering his market to the camp, with strict orders to sell every thing according to the emperor's established price in his own dominions.

Cafoor having marched from Deogur, appeared at Indore, upon the frontiers of Tillingana, and issued orders to lay waste the country with fire and sword; which struck the unhappy people, who had never injured their wanton enemies, with great terror and consternation. In the mean time, the neighbouring princes hastened with all their forces to support Lidderdeo in this alarming juncture. But as the imperial army proceeded with great expedition, he was forced, before the arrival of his allies, to shut himself up in the fort of Arinkil, which was a place of great strength. The allied rajahs, upon this, also took possession of divers strong holds round the country.

Cafoor immediately invested the place, and began his attacks, which were carried on and repelled with great slaughter on both sides. Notwithstanding the interruptions that Cafoor received from

the auxiliary princes without the place, Arinkil, after some months siege, was taken by assault, and the garrison massacred without mercy, for the citadel to which Lidderdeo had retired, was not sufficient to contain the whole. Lidderdeo, driven to this extremity, bought his peace with three hundred elephants, seven thousand horses, and money and jewels to a very great amount; agreeing, at the same time, to pay an annual tribute. Cafoor, after this advantageous peace, returned with his army to Delhi. He dispatched before him the news of his victories, which was read from the pulpit, and a public rejoicing ordered. Upon his approach to the city, the king himself came out and met him at the Budaoon gate, and there the conqueror laid all the spoils at his feet.

THIRD INVASION OF DECAN.

In the year 710, the king sent Cafoor and Chaja, with a great army, to reduce Dhoor, Summund, and Maber, in the Decan, where he had heard there were temples very rich in gold and jewels. When they had proceeded to Deogur, they found that Ramdeo, the old king, was dead, and that the young prince Singeldeo was not so well affected to them as they expected. They therefore left some omrahs in a strong post upon the banks of the Ganges, and continued their march. When they had passed the rajah's territories, they began their usual inhuman cruelties, and, after three months march from Delhi, arrived in the countries which they were commanded to subdue. They engaged Bellal Deo, sovereign of the Carnatic, and defeating him, took him prisoner, and then ravaged his whole country. They found in the temples a prodigious spoil in idols of gold, adorned with the most precious stones; and other rich effects consecrated to their worship. Here the conqueror built a small mosque, and ordered divine service to be read according to the Mohammedan faith, and the chutba to be pronounced in the emperor's name. This mosque

remains entire in our days, for the Caffers,* esteeming it a house consecrated to God, would not destroy it.

Cafoor, having wearied his own inhumanity and avarice, in destroying and robbing an unfortunate people, resolved to return to Delhi with the spoil. The night before his intended march, a quarrel arose among some Brahmins, who had taken protection in his camp, from the plundering parties that scoured the country. Some person in the camp who understood their language, found the quarrel was about the division of some hidden treasure, which was immediately communicated to the superintendant of the market, who seized them, and carried them to Cafoor to be examined. They were at first very obstinate, but their lives being threatened, and each being questioned apart, an ample discovery was made. Seven different places were pointed out near the camp, where immense treasures were concealed. These being dug up and placed upon elephants, Cafoor turned the points of his spears to Delhi, where he arrived, without any remarkable occurrence, in the year 711, A. D. 1311. He presented the emperor with 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96,000 maunds of gold, several chests of jewels and pearls, and other precious things.† Alla upon seeing this treasure, which exceeded that of Baadawird or Parvez, those wealthy and magnificent kings of Persia, was greatly rejoiced, and opened the doors of his bounty to all. He gave to each of the principal omrahs ten maunds, and to the inferior five. The learned men of his court received one maund, and thus in proportion he distributed wealth to all his servants, according to their rank and

* The Mohammedans give the name of Caffers, or Infidels, to all nations who do not profess their own faith.

† This treasure may appear to exceed all belief in the eyes of Europeans: but if we consider the Hindoos as a mercantile people, not disturbed by wars for a series of centuries; and add to this, that it is the invariable custom of that race, to live with the abstinence of hermits in the midst of wealth, our wonder will cease, and the credit of our author remain entire. The gold alone amounts to about one hundred millions of our money.

quality. The remainder was melted down, coined, and lodged in the treasury. It is said, that during this expedition to the Carnatic, the soldiers threw the silver they found away, as too cumbersome, where gold was found in such plenty. No person wore bracelets, chains, or rings of any other metal than gold, while all the plate in the houses of the great, and in the temples, was of beaten gold; neither was silver money at all current in that country, should we believe the reports of those adventurers.

The king, elevated by this good fortune, gave himself over to pride. He listened to no advice, as he sometimes condescended to do in the beginning of his reign, but every thing was executed by his irrevocable word. Yet the empire never flourished so much as in this reign. Order and justice travelled to the most distant provinces, and magnificence raised her head in the land. Palaces, mosques, universities, baths, forts, and all kinds of public and private buildings, seemed to rise, as by the power of enchantment, neither did there in any age appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts. Forty-five skilled in the sciences were professors in the universities. In poetry, Chosro and Delavi held the first rank. In philosophy and physic, Molana of Damascus. In divinity, Shatabi. In astrology Nizam Awlia acquired much fame. Others distinguished themselves in music, morality, languages, and in all the fine arts then known in the world.

But when the king seemed to have carried every thing to the height of perfection, and to the extent of his wishes, he all at once adopted every measure that evidently tended to subvert the great fabric which he had raised. He resigned the reins of government entirely into the hands of Cafoor, whom he blindly supported in his most impolitic and tyrannical actions. This gave great disgust to the omrahs, and spread universal discontent over the face of the people. He neglected the education of his own children, who were let out of the seraglio when very young, and intrusted with inde-

pendant power. Chizer was made viceroy of Chitor when as yet a boy, without any person of wisdom to advise him, or to superintend his conduct, while Shadi, Mubarick, and Shab-ul-dien, his other sons, had appointments of the same important nature.

FOURTH INVASION OF DECAN.

The prince of Tillingana, about this time, sent some presents and twenty elephants to the king, with a letter informing him that the tribute which he had agreed to pay in his treaty with Cafoor, was ready to be paid. Cafoor, upon this, desired leave of the king, to make another expedition into the Decan, promising that he would not only collect the revenues which had fallen due, but bring the rajah of Deogur and others, who had withheld their allegiance and tribute, under due subjection. He was principally moved to this by his jealousy of Chizer, the declared heir to the empire, whose government lay most convenient for that expedition; and whom he feared the king intended to send.

Alla consented to Cafoor's proposal, and he accordingly proceeded the fourth time to the Decan with a great army. He seized the rajah of Deogur, and inhumanly put him to death; then ravaging the countries of Mahratt, Connir, Dabul, Giwil, Rajjore, and Mudkil, took up his residence at Deogur. He raised the tribute from the princes of Tillingana and the Carnatic, and, in the year 712, dispatched the whole to the emperor.

Alla by this time, through his intemperance in the seraglio, ruined his constitution, and was taken extremely ill. His wife Mallecke Jehan, and her son Chizer, neglected him entirely, and spent their time in riot and revelry, which added new strength to the king's disorder. He therefore ordered Cafoor from the Decan, and Alip from Guzerat. He told them in private of the impolitic, undutiful, and cruel behaviour of his wife and son. Cafoor, who had before aspired,

in his mind, to the empire, now began seriously to form schemes for the extirpation of the royal line. He, for this purpose, insinuated to the king, that Chizer, the queen, and Alip, had conspired against his life. What gave colour to this wicked accusation was, that at this time the sultana solicited Alla to obtain one of Alip's daughters for her son Shadi. The traitor did not fail to improve this circumstance to his own advantage. The king at length suffered suspicion to steal into his breast, and ordered Chizer to Amrohe, and there to continue till he himself should recover. Though Chizer was mad with the follies of youth, this command of his father made a deep impression on his mind, and at his departure he made a private vow, that if God should spare the life of his father, he would return all the way on foot. When he accordingly heard that his father's health began to return, he performed his vow, and waited upon him at Delhi. The traitor Cafoor turned this filial piety entirely against Chizer. He insinuated that his behaviour, by such a sudden change, could be imputed to nothing but hypocrisy, and urged his disobedience, by coming without his father's leave, pretending, at the same time, that he was intriguing with the omrahs about kindling a rebellion in the empire. Alla could not give entire credit to these insinuations. He sent for Chizer into his presence, embraced him to try his affection, and, seeing him weep, seemed convinced of his sincerity, and ordered him into the seraglio to see his mother and sisters. But unhappily for this prince, the flights of his youth made him deviate again into his former wild amusements. He neglected for several days to visit his father; during which time his subtle enemy bribed over to his own interest the emperor's private servants, and called upon them to witness his aspersions against Chizer. He at length, by a thousand wiles and stratagems, accomplished his purpose, and prevailed upon the king to imprison his two sons Chizer and Shadi, in the fort of Gualior, and their mother in the old citadel. He at the same time procured an order to seize Alip, who was unjustly put to death, and

his brother Nizam, subah of Jalore, was assassinated by Cummal, who assumed his place.

Thus far the traitor's schemes advanced in the direct road of success. But now the fire, which had long been smothered, began to blaze forth, kindling first at Guzerat into a general insurrection. The king, to suppress this rebellion, sent Cummal thither with a great army; but the forces commanded by the friends of Alip defeated him with great slaughter, and put him to a cruel death. In the mean time the governor of Chitor threw the imperial officers over the wall, and assumed independence; while Hirpal Deo, the son-in-law of Ramdeo, stirred up the Decan to arms, and took a number of the imperial garrisons.

Alla, upon receiving this intelligence, could do nothing but bite his own flesh, in resentment. His grief and rage served to strengthen his disorder, which would yield to no power of medicine. In the year 716, or A. D. 1316, he gave up that life, which, like a comet, had spread terror and desolation through an astonished world; but not without suspicion of being poisoned by the miscreant whom he had raised from the dust to power. He reigned twenty years and some months.

OMAR.

On the day after the death of Alla, Cafoor assembled the omrahs, and produced a spurious testament of the deceased king, in which he had appointed Omar, Alla's youngest son, his successor, and Cafoor himself regent, during the prince's minority, setting aside the right of primogeniture in the person of Chizer, and the other princes. Omar then, in the seventh year of his age, was placed on the throne, and Cafoor began his administration. The first step which the traitor took, was to send a person to Gualior, to put out the eyes of the princes Chizer and Shadi. His orders were rigorously executed; and the sultana, their mother, was put into closer

confinement, and all her wealth seized. Mubarick, the third son of Alla, was also taken into custody, with an intention to have his eyes put out, like his unhappy brothers. Cafoor, though an eunuch, married the mother of Omar, the late emperor's third wife. But the mother of Mubarick, Alla's second wife, having heard that the regent intended to put out the eyes of her son, acquainted Nizam of her intelligence, and he gave her some hopes that the threatened misfortune should be prevented.

Cafoor, in the mean time, to conceal his wicked designs, placed the young king every day upon the throne, and ordered the nobles to pay their respects, as usual, to the emperor. He sent one night some assassins to cut off the prince Mubarick; but when they entered his apartment, he conjured them to remember his father, whose servants they were; then untying a string of rich jewels from his neck, which perhaps had more influence than his entreaties, he gave it them. They immediately abandoned their purpose; but quarrelling about the division of the jewels, when they had got out, it was proposed to carry them to the chief of the foot-guards, and acquaint him of what the prince had said, and of their instructions from Cafoor.

The commander of the foot guards, who owed every thing to the favour of the deceased king, was shocked at the villainy of Cafoor, and finding his people of the same sentiments, he immediately formed a conspiracy against the tyrant. Accordingly himself and his lieutenant entered the regent's apartment, a few hours after, and assassinated him, with some of the principal eunuchs, who were attached to his interest. This happened thirty-five days after the emperor Alla's death, and thus the world was rid of a monster too horrid to exist among mankind.

When, with the return of day, the transactions of the night became public, they gave general satisfaction. The prince Mubarick was released from his confinement, and had the reins of government

placed in his hands. He however did not immediately assume the throne, but acted for the space of two months as regent or vizier for his brother, till he had brought over the nobles to his interest. He then claimed his birthright, the diadem, deposed his brother, and acceded to the imperial dignity. But, according to the barbarous custom and policy of those days, he deprived Omar of his eyes, and confined him for life in the fort of Gualior, after he had borne the title of king for three months and some days.

MUBARICK I.

Mubarick ascended the throne in A. H. 717, or A. D. 1317. The commander of the foot-guards, who had saved his life, and raised him to the imperial dignity, and also his lieutenant, were ungratefully and inhumanly put to death by his orders, under no better pretence than that they presumed too much upon the services they had done him. It is probable he was instigated to this base action by his fears, as, in some measure, appears by his immediately dispersing all the old soldiers, who were under their command, into different parts of the country. Mubarick began to dispense his favours among the nobles, but he disgusted them all by raising some of his slaves to that dignity.

The emperor, whether to affect popularity, or in remembrance of his late situation, ordered all the prisons to be opened, by which means seventeen thousand were blessed with the light of day, and all the exiles were by proclamation recalled. He then commanded to be given to the army a present of six months pay, and conferred many other private benefits. He at the same time issued orders to give free access to all petitioners. He cased the petitioners of some of their taxes; but by too much relaxing the reins of government, disorder and tumult arose, which threw down to the ground the great fabric raised by his father Alla. He gave himself up entirely

to wine, revelry, and lust. These vices became fashionable at court, from whence the whole body of the people were soon infected.

Mubarick, in the second year of his reign, raised a great army, and marched towards the Decan, to chastise Hirpaldeo, the son-in-law of Ramdeo, who, by the assistance of the other princes of the Decan, had recovered his country. When he arrived near Deogur, Hirpaldeo and the other princes, who were then besieging the place, fled; but some omrahs being ordered to pursue Hirpaldeo, he was brought back prisoner, flayed alive, and beheaded. His head was fixed above the gate of his own capital.

Assid, son to the emperor's grand-uncle, seeing the king daily intoxicated, and negligent of all the duties of a king or commander, began to entertain thoughts of the empire, and formed a conspiracy against his life. This plot, however, was discovered by one of the conspirators, and Assid was condemned to death. Whether Mubarick had found proofs that his brothers were concerned in this conspiracy, we cannot learn, but at that time he sent an assassin to Gualior, and these two unfortunate blind princes were inhumanly murdered.

Mubarick finding himself in quiet possession of all the kingdoms of India, abandoned those popular manners which he at first affected, and grew perverse, proud, vindictive, and tyrannical, despising all counsel, ill treating all his friends, and ~~executing every thing~~, however bloody or unjust, by his obstinate, blind, arbitrary will. He was infamous, in short, in every vice that can taint the human mind, and descended so far from the royal character, as to dress himself often like a common prostitute, and go with the public women to dance at the houses of the nobility. These and other vices and indecencies, too shocking to mention, were the constant amusements of this monster in the form of man.

His favourite general, Chosro, who had gone to Malabar, stayed there about one year. He plundered the country of about one hun-

dred and twenty elephants, a perfect diamond of the weight of 168 ruttys, with other jewels and gold to a great amount. His ambition was increased by his wealth, and he began to aspire to the throne. Not being able to join to his interest any of the omrahs and great officers of his army, he formed the means of their destruction, and accomplished it.

To effect his treasonable purposes, he told the king, "That as his own fidelity and services had been by his majesty so generously rewarded, and as he might still have occasion for them in the conduct of his military affairs, while the omrahs, from the pride of family, were seditious and disobedient to his commands, he begged that he might be permitted to call some of his relations from Guzerat, in whom he could more certainly confide." Mubarick agreed to this request; and Chosro sent a great sum of money, by some of his agents, to Guzerat, who collected about twenty thousand of the dregs of the people, and brought them to Delhi. All the places of profit and trust were conferred upon those vermin, which bound them fast to Chosro's interest; and also upon all the villains about the city, who were remarkable for their boldness and address.

The emperor, in the mean time, going to hunt towards Jirsava, a plot was formed to assassinate him. But this was laid aside, on account of some difference in opinion among the conspirators: and therefore they resolved to perform their tragedy in the palace. Mubarick returned to Delhi, and, according to custom, gave himself up to his debaucheries. Chosro was warm in his project, and took the opportunity of a favourable hour to beg leave of Mubarick to entertain his friends in the outer court of the palace. The emperor not only consented, but issued orders to give them free access at all times; by which means the courts of the palace became crowded with those miscreants. In the mean time, Casi Zea, who was famous for his skill in astrology, ran into the presence and kissed the ground. "O king," said he, "Chosro is concerting means for your

assassination. If this should prove false, his honesty will be the better established; if otherwise, caution is necessary, because life is a most inestimable jewel." Mubarick smiled at the old man, who had been one of his preceptors, and told him, he would make inquiry into that affair: but that instant Chosro entering in a female dress, with all the affectations of a girl, the emperor embraced him, and actually forgot all that the Casi had said.

The same night, as the Casi was suspicious of treason, he could not go to rest, but walked out about midnight, to see whether the guards were watchful. In their rounds, he met Mundul, uncle to Chosro, who engaged him in conversation. In the mean time, one Jaherba came behind him, and, with one stroke of a sword, stretched him upon the ground, leaving him only strength to cry out, "Treason! treason! Murder and treason are on foot!" while two servants, who attended him, ran off, screaming aloud, that the Casi was assassinated. The guards started up in confusion, but they were instantly attacked by the conspirators, and massacred, before they could prepare for their own defence.

The emperor, alarmed by the noise, asked Chosro, who lay in his apartment, the cause of it. The villain arose to inquire, and going out on the terrace, stood for some time, and returning told the king, that some of the horses belonging to the guard had broke loose from their picquets, and were fighting, while the people were endeavouring to lay hold of them. This satisfied Mubarick for the present; but, soon after, the conspirators having ascended the stairs, and got upon the terraces which led to the royal sleeping apartment, they were stopped by Ibrahim and Ishaac, with all the porters of the private chambers, whom they immediately put to the sword. The emperor, hearing the clash of arms and groans of dying men so near him, rose up in great terror and confusion, running towards the haram by a private passage. Chosro, fearing he might escape, rushed close after him, and seizing him by the hair in the gallery, struggled with him

for some time. Mubarick being the stronger man, threw Chosro on the ground; but as he had twisted his hand in his hair, he could by no means disengage himself, till some of the other conspirators came, and with a stroke of a sabre cut off his head and threw it down into the court, proclaiming the deed aloud to those below.

The conspirators in the court below began to be hard pressed by the guards and the servants, who had crowded from all quarters, but upon hearing of the emperor's fate, they all hastened out of the palace. The conspirators then shut the gates, and massacred all who had not the good fortune to escape; particularly the younger children of the emperor. Then breaking into the haram, committed all manner of violence upon the poor women. Thus the vengeance of God overtook and exterminated the race of Alla, for his ingratitude to his uncle Ferose, and the streams of innocent blood which flowed from his hands.

This massacre happened in the year 721, or A. D. 1321. In the morning, Chosro, surrounded by his creatures, mounted the throne, and ridiculously assumed the title of the supporter of religion. He then ordered all the slaves and servants of Mubarick, who he thought had the least spark of honesty, to be massacred, and their wives and children to be sold for slaves; but was himself, shortly after, put to death in a general insurrection of the omrahs, whom his tyranny had driven from Delhi, by whose united voice was exalted to the throne, TUGLICK, a prince of Patan descent, who had been governor of Lahore, and was at the head of the conspiracy.

TUGLICK I.

When Tuglick mounted the throne, he began to regulate the affairs of government, which had fallen into the utmost disorder, by the most salutary and vigorous methods, which gained him general esteem. He repaired the palaces and fortifications, founded others, and encouraged industry and commerce. Men of genius and learning

were called to court; institutes of laws and government were established and founded upon the Coran, and the ancient usages of the empire.

The emperor, in the mean time, stationed troops upon the frontiers towards Cabul, and built forts to defend the country from the incursions of the Moguls, which he did so effectually as not to be troubled by these invaders during his reign. In the second year from his accession, Jonah, the emperor's eldest son, with some of the old omrahs, and the troops of Chinderi, Budaoon, and Malava, was dispatched towards Tillingana, to chastise Lidderdeo, the Indian prince of Arinkil, who had, during the late disturbances, withdrawn his neck from the yoke, and refused to send his tribute, while the rajah of Deogur had also swerved from his allegiance. Jonah having advanced into those countries, began a barbarous war with fire and sword. Lidderdeo opposed him with some vigour, but was in the end obliged to retreat into the city of Arinkil, which Jonah immediately invested.

The siege was carried on with great loss on both sides, till the walls were battered down, and a practicable breach made. The Mohammedan army, in the mean time, on account of the hot winds and bad water, were seized with a malignant distemper, that swept hundreds to their graves every day. Many became desirous to return home, and spread false reports through the camp, which threw universal consternation among the army.

In the event prince Jonah was obliged to retreat from Deogur, and brought back only three thousand horse, of all his great army, to Delhi. He in two months, however, made great preparations, and, with a more numerous army than the former, took the route of Arinkil. He took in his way the city of Bedir, on the frontiers of Tillingana, and other places, where he left garrisons. He then advanced to the capital, renewed the siege, and, in a short time, reduced it. Some thousands of the unfortunate Hindoos were

massacred, and Liddledeo, with his family, taken prisoners. Jonah sent the prisoners, their treasure, elephants, and effects, to Delhi, under charge of Kuddir and Chaja. Upon their arrival, great rejoicings were made in the new citadel, which the emperor had built, by the name of Tuglickabad.

In the beginning of the year 724, complaints arrived from Bengal of the great oppressions committed by the governors of that kingdom. Tuglick appointed his son Jonah to the government of Delhi, and, with a great army, marched towards Bengal. When he had reached Nahib, Nazir, the grandson of the emperor Balin, who had remained in that government since the death of his father, arrived, in a respectful manner, from Bengal, with many valuable presents. He was confirmed in his government of the whole kingdom of Bengal, and honoured with royal dignities; and the emperor prepared for his return. When he was passing near the hills of Turhat, the Indian prince of those parts appearing in arms, he pursued him into the woods. Finding his army could no longer continue the pursuit, he alighted, and calling for a hatchet, cut down one of the trees with his own hand. The troops, upon seeing this, set to work with such spirit, that the forest seemed to vanish before them, till they arrived at a fort surrounded with seven ditches full of water, and a high wall. The king immediately invested it, began the siege, filled up the ditches, and broke down the wall in three weeks. He took the rajah, his family and wealth, and conferred the government of Turhat upon the noble Ahmed, and returned with his army towards Delhi.

When the emperor had reached Afghanpoor, he was met by prince Jonah, with all the nobles of Delhi, to congratulate him upon his safe return. But his death was now approaching. His son had in that place raised a wooden house, in three days time, for his father's reception. The entertainment being over, the king was preparing to mount, and every body hastened out to be ready to accompany

him. The roof of the building fell instantly in, and killed the emperor and five of his attendants, as he was rising to follow the omrahs.

Some authors attribute this accident to the newness of the building, and the motion of the elephants that were preparing without; others to design, with which they charge Jonah, as the raising this unnecessary building seems indeed to indicate. But others ascribe it to lightning; so that the matter still remains in doubt. The death of Tuglick happened in A. H. 725, or A. D. 1325, after a reign of four years and some months. The poet, the noble Chosro, who flourished towards the end of this emperor's reign, has favoured posterity with his history at large, by which it appears that he was a great and virtuous prince.

MOHAMMED III.

After the king's funeral obsequies were performed, his eldest son Jonah, ascended the throne by the name of Mohammed, and proceeded from Tuglickabad to Delhi. The streets of that city were strewed with flowers, the houses adorned, the drums beating, and every demonstration of joy exhibited. The new emperor ordered some elephants, loaded with gold and silver, before and behind him, which was scattered among the populace. His generosity, in short, was, like his wealth, without bounds, which no man could well account for, there being no great sum in the treasury upon his accession. It is therefore probable, that he had concealed the riches of the prince of Arinkil, from Tuglick, and that his liberality was supplied from the wealth of the Decan, which circumstance strengthens our suspicion that he was accessory to his father's death.

In the beginning of the reign of Mohammed, before the empire was properly settled, Siri, chief of the tribe of Zagatay, a Mogul general of great fame, invaded Hindostan, in the year 727, with an innumerable army, with a view to make an entire conquest of it. Having subdued Limghan, Multan, and the northern provinces, he

advanced towards Delhi with incredible expedition, and invested it. Mohammed seeing he could not cope with the enemy in the field, and that the city must soon fall, began to sue for peace; he sent an immense present, in gold and jewels, to soften the Mogul chief, who at last consented, upon receiving almost the price of the empire, to return to his own country.

Mohammed turned his thoughts to war, and the regulation of his army. He subdued, by different generals, many distant countries, such as Door, Sumnudir, Maber, Compila, Arinkil, some of which provinces had revolted, and others had never been subjected by the arms of the Islamites. He soon after reduced the Carnatic, to the extremities of the Decan, and from sea to sea, obliging all the rajahs to pay him tribute, by which means he again filled the treasury with money.

But, during the convulsions which soon after shook the empire, all these foreign conquests were wrested from the yoke. The causes of the disturbances were chiefly these; the heavy imposts, which were, in this reign, tripled in some provinces; the passing copper money for silver, by public decree; the raising 370,000 horse for the conquest of Chorasani and Maver-ul-nere; the sending 100,000 horse towards the mountains between India and China; and the cruel massacre of many Mohammedans, as well as Hindoos, in different parts of India.

From these evils general murmurs and confusion arose throughout the empire. The emperor, to ease the minds of the people, was obliged to call in the copper currency. But there had been such abuses in the mint, that, after the treasury was emptied, there still remained a heavy demand. This he was forced to strike off, and thousands were ruined. The emperor himself was so far from winning by this indigested scheme, that he lost all he had in his treasury; and the bankers accumulated immense fortunes on the ruin of their sovereign and the people. Mohammed, by the advice

of Amir Norose, a Mogul chief, who with thousands of his tribe, had entered into the service, raised a great army. The Mogul buoyed up the emperor's mind with the facility of reducing both Persia and Tartary; but before these mighty projects could be put in execution, he fell in arrears to his forces. Finding they could not subsist without pay, they dispersed themselves over the empire, and carried pillage, ruin, and death to every quarter. These misfortunes comprehended the domestic transactions of many years. The public treasury being squandered by impolitic schemes and follies of various kinds, the king entered into a project to repair his finances, equally absurd with that by which they were originally ruined.

Having heard of the great wealth of China, Mohammed formed a resolution to subdue that kingdom; but to accomplish his design, it was first necessary to conquer the country of Himmatchil, which lies between the borders of China and India. He accordingly, in the year 738, ordered one hundred thousand horse, under the command of his sister's son Chosro, to subdue the mountainous country of Himmatchil, and fix garrisons as far as the frontiers of China. When this should be done, he proposed to advance in person, with his whole force, to invade that empire. The omrahs and counsellors of state went so far, as plainly to tell him, that the troops of India never yet could, and never would advance a step within the limits of that mighty empire, and that the whole was a visionary project. The emperor insisted upon making the experiment, and accordingly this army was put in motion, and, having entered the mountains, began to build small forts on the road, to secure a communication; proceeding in this manner to the boundaries of China, where a numerous army appeared to oppose them. As their numbers were by this time greatly diminished, and much inferior to that of the enemy, the troops of Hindostan were struck with universal dismay, upon considering their distance from home, the rugged ways they had passed, and the rainy season which was now approaching; add to

this, a scarcity of provisions, now began to be severely felt. In this consternation, they bent their march towards the foot of a mountain, where the savage inhabitants of the hills poured down upon them, and plundered their baggage, while the Chinese army lay in their front.

In this distressful situation they remained for seven days, suffering the extremities of famine without knowing how to proceed. At length such a heavy rain fell that the cavalry were immersed up to their bellies in water, which obliged the Chinese to remove their camp to a greater distance. Chosro then determined to endeavour to make his retreat, but the low country was quite covered with water, and the mountains with impervious woods. Their misfortunes now came to a crisis. Having lost the road, they found themselves in such an unfortunate situation, that they could find no way out but that by which they entered, which was now possessed by the enemy. This whole army, in short, in the space of fifteen days, fell a prey to famine, and a victim to false ambition; scarce a man coming back to relate the particulars, except those who were left behind in the garrisons. A few of them escaped indeed the rage of the enemy, but could not escape the more fatal tyranny of the emperor, who ordered them to be put to death, upon their return to Delhi.

The emperor, called by war, to visit his southern dominions, was so much pleased with the situation and strength of Deogur, in the Decan, that, considering it more central than Delhi, he determined to make it his capital. But, upon proposing this affair in his council, the majority were of opinion, that Ugein was a more proper place for that purpose. The king, however, had previously formed his resolution. He therefore gave orders that the city of Delhi, which was then the envy of the world, should be rendered desolate, and that men, women, and children, with all their effects and cattle, should make a grand migration to Deogur. To add magnificence to the migration, he commanded trees to be torn up by the roots,

and planted in regular rows along the road, to yield the emigrants a shade, and that all who had not money to defray their charges, should be maintained at the public expence. He ordered that for the future Deogur should be called Dowlatabad, or the fortunate city; raised noble buildings, and dug a deep ditch round the walls, which he repaired and beautified. On the top of the hill upon which the citadel stood, he formed large reservoirs for water, and made a beautiful garden. This change, however, greatly affected the empire, and distracted the minds of the people. But the emperor's orders were strictly complied with, and the ancient capital left desolate.

He had not been long in his new capital, when he heard that his father's firm friend Ibah, the viceroy of Multan, had rebelled, and was then reducing the country about the Indus with a great army. The cause of the revolt was this: Mohammed having sent an order to all his omrahs to send their families to Dowlatabad, the messenger who was dispatched to Multan, presuming too much on the king's authority, upon observing some delay, proceeded to impertinent threats. He one day told Ibah's son-in-law, that he believed his father was meditating treason against the king. High words upon this arose between them, which soon ended in blows; and the messenger had his head struck off by one of Ibah's servants. Ibah, knowing the vengeful disposition of Mohammed, was sensible that this disrespect to his authority would never be forgiven, and resolved to seek refuge in arms.

The emperor, upon these advices, put his troops in motion, and hastened towards Multan; and Ibah, with a numerous army, prepared to dispute the field. Both armies at last met, and, eager for victory, engaged with great resolution; but after a great slaughter on both sides, misfortune darkened the standards of Ibah, and his troops turning their backs upon glory, abandoned the field. Mohammed immediately gave orders for a general massacre of the

inhabitants of Multan; but the learned Sheeh Rukun interceded for them, and prevented the effects of this horrible mandate. Ibal was taken in the pursuit, and his head brought to the king, who returned towards Delhi.

At sight of their native country and city, all those who had been forced to Dowlatabad began to desert the imperial army, and to disperse themselves in the woods. The emperor, to prevent the consequences of this desertion, took up his residence in the city; whither he invited them, and remained there for the space of two years. But then he again revolved in his mind the scheme of making Dowlatabad his capital. He removed his family, obliging the nobles to do the same, and carried off the whole city a second time, to the Decan: leaving that noble metropolis a habitation for owls, and the wild beasts of the desert.

About this time the taxes were so heavily imposed, and exacted with such rigour and cruelty, by the officers of the revenue, that the whole extent of that fertile country, between the two rivers Ganges and Jumna, was particularly oppressed. The farmers, weary of their lives, in one day, set fire to their own houses, and retired to the woods, with their families and cattle. The tyrant, having received intelligence of this circumstance, ordered a body of troops to massacre these unhappy people if they resisted, and if they should be taken, to put out their eyes. Many populous provinces were, by this inhuman decree, laid waste, and remained so for several years. The colony of Dowlatabad was also in great distraction; the people, without houses, without employment, were reduced to the utmost distress. The tyrannies of the cruel Mohammed exceeded, in short, any thing we have met with in history, of which the following is a remarkable instance. While he resided at Delhi, he led his army out to hunt, as is customary with princes. When they arrived in the territory of Birren, he plainly told them, that he came not to hunt beasts but men; and, without any obvious reason, began a general massacre

of the wretched inhabitants. He had even the barbarity to bring home some thousands of their heads, and to hang them over the city walls. He, upon another occasion, made an excursion of the same nature towards Canouge, and massacred all the inhabitants of that city, and the adjacent country for many miles, spreading terror and desolation wherever he went.

About this period, he gave leave to such of the inhabitants of Dowlatabad, as were willing, to return to Delhi. Many thousands returned, but they had almost perished on the way by a famine, which then desolated the countries of Malava and Chinderi. When they came to Delhi, they found that the famine **raged** with redoubled violence in that city, insomuch that very few could procure the necessaries of life. Mohammed, for once, seemed affected with human miseries. He even for some time entirely **changed** his disposition, and took great pains to encourage husbandry, commerce, and all kinds of industry. He opened the treasury, and divided large sums to the inhabitants for these purposes. But as the people were really in great distress, they expended the money in the necessaries of life, and many of them were severely punished upon that account.

Shahoo, a chief of the Mountain Afghans, about this time, commencing hostilities to the northward, poured down like a torrent upon Multan, which he laid waste, and killed Begad, the imperial viceroy, in battle, and put his army to flight. Mohammed, having prepared an army at Delhi, moved towards Multan, but Shahoo, upon the king's approach, wrote him a submissive letter, and fled to the mountains of Afghanistan. The emperor perceiving that it was idle to pursue him, returned to Delhi. The famine continued still to rage in the city so dreadfully, that men eat one another. He ordered, in this distress, another distribution of money towards the sinking of wells, and the cultivation of lands; but the people, weakened by hunger, and distracted by private distresses in their families, made very little progress, while the drought continued, and rendered

their labour vain. At the same time, the tribes of Mindahir, and others who inhabited the country about Samana, unable to discharge their rents, fled into the woods. The emperor marched forth with against them with his army, and massacred some thousands of these poor slaves.

In 1344 Kisnanaig, the son of Lidderdeo, who lived near Arinkil, went privately to Bellaldeo, the prince of the Carnatic, and told him, "That he had heard the Mohammedans, who were now very numerous in the Decan, had formed a design of extirpating all the Hindoos; that it was therefore advisable to prevent them in time." What truth there might be in this report we know not, but Bellaldeo acted as if he was convinced of such a scheme. He called a council of his nobles, in which it was resolved, that Bellaldeo should first secure his own country, by fixing his capital in a pass among the mountains, to exclude the followers of Mohammed from all those kingdoms. Kisnanaig in the mean time promised, when matters should be ripe, to raise all the Hindoos of Arinkil and Tillingana to his assistance.

Bellaldeo accordingly built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions, and called it Bigen, from the name of his son, to which the word Nagur, or city, is now added. He then began to raise an army, and sent part of it under the command of Kisnanaig, who reduced Arinkil, and drove Ahmed, the imperial viceroy, to Dowlatabad. Bellaldeo and Kisnanaig, having joined their forces with the princes of Maber and Doorsummund, who were formerly tributaries to the government of the Carnatic, they seized upon those countries, and drove the Mohammedans before them on all sides. In short, within a few months, Mohammed had no possessions in the Decan, except Dowlatabad.

That irritable tyrant, upon receiving intelligence of those misfortunes, grew vengeful, splenetic, and cruel, wreaking his rage upon his unhappy subjects, without crime, provocation, or distinction.

This conduct occasioned rebellion, robbery, and confusion, in all parts of the empire. The famine became daily more and more dreadful, insomuch that the emperor, not able to procure provisions even for his household, was obliged to abandon the city, and to open the gates, and permit the starved inhabitants, whom he had before confined, to provide for themselves. Thousands crowded towards Bengal, which, as we have before observed, had revolted from the empire. Mohammed encamped his army near Cumpula, on the banks of the Ganges, and drew supplies from the countries of Oud and Kurrah.

In 1346, some of the courtiers calumniated Cuttulich, governor of Dowlatabad, accusing him of oppressions and other abuses in his government, though a man of justice and integrity. The king, therefore, recalled Cuttulich to Delhi, ordering his brother Molana, to whom he gave the title of Alim, to take charge of what remained to the empire of the Decan, till he should send some person from court. When the king's order arrived, Cuttulich was digging a great pond or reservoir, which he begged his brother to complete, and prepared to return to Delhi, with all the revenues of the Decan, which he had previously secured in a fort called Daragire, upon a mountain close to the city. Mohammed, after the arrival of Cuttulich, appointed four governors for the Decan, having divided it into four provinces, and determined to reduce it, as before, to his obedience. To accomplish his purpose, he ordered a numerous army, under the command of Ahmed, late governor of Arinkil, an omrah of great reputation, to march to Dowlatabad, and entered into articles with him, that he and the other chiefs should pay into the treasury seven crores of rupees * annually for their governments. To make up this sum, and to gratify their own avarice, they plundered and oppressed that unfortunate country. At the same time, Mohammed conferred the government of Malava upon Aziz, a

* Near ten millions of our money.

mean fellow, formerly a vintner, and told him, that the amirs of Sidda * were dangerous persons in that country; he should therefore endeavour to extirpate them.

Aziz, when he arrived at Bedar, invited the Mogul chiefs to an entertainment, and assassinated eighty of them, with their attendants. He wrote to the emperor an account of this horrible massacre, who sent him back a present of a dress and a fine horse, for his loyal services. Such were the morals of those wretched days!

In A. D. 1347, on occasion of the revolt of the siddas, the emperor massacred many of the Mogul chiefs, and plundered Cambay and Guzerat of every thing valuable, putting all who opposed him to the sword. He then sent to Dowlatabad, to sieze upon all the siddas of those parts, and bring them to punishment. Muckbil, the governor, according to orders, summoned the siddas from Rajoor, and many other places. The siddas, conformable to those orders, prepared to go to Dowlatabad, and when they were all collected, Muckbil dispatched them, under a guard of fifteen hundred horse, to the royal presence. When these Mogul chiefs were arrived upon the frontiers of Guzerat, fearing that Mohammed had a design upon their lives, they entered into a conspiracy for their own security. They, with one accord, fell upon their guard, and slew Ahmed their chief, with many of his people, while the rest under the command of one Ali, fled to Dowlatabad. The siddas pursued them, and, before any advices could arrive to put the place in a posture of defence, they took it by assault, being favoured by the troops within, who became seditious. Mukbil, with whose behaviour they were satisfied, was spared, but all the rest of the emperor's officers were put to death, and the treasure divided among the conspirators. The siddas of Guzerat, and other parts, who were skulking about in the woods and mountains, hearing of the success of their brethren, joined them. Ismael, one of the nobles of their faction, was proclaimed

* Mogul captains, who entered into his service with Amir Norose,

king, by the name of Nasir. Mohammed, hearing of this revolution at Dowlatabad, left Barage, and hastened towards that city. The usurper, having drawn out his army, waited to give battle to the king. The two armies accordingly met, and the Moguls, though greatly inferior in number, roused by their danger and wrongs, assaulted the imperial troops with such violence, that the right and left wings were beat back, and the whole army upon the point of flight. But many of the chieftains who fought in the van being killed, four thousand of the siddas fled; and night coming on, left the victory undecided, so that both armies lay on the field of battle.

A council of war being, in the mean time, called by the siddas, who had suffered greatly in the engagement, it was determined that **Ismael** should retire into Dowlatabad, with a good garrison, and that the remainder should shift for themselves, till Mohammed should leave the Decan; when they resolved to assemble again at Dowlatabad. This conduct was accordingly pursued. The emperor ordered Ahmed, who was then at Elichpóor, to pursue the fugitives, while he himself laid siege to the city.

In the mean time advices arrived, that one Tiggi, heading the siddas of Guzerat, was joined by many of the zemindars, by which means he had taken Narwalla, the capital, and put Muziffer, the deputy governor of Guzerat, to death; imprisoned Moaz, the vice-roy, and was now marching to lay waste Cambay, having in his route blockaded Barage. Mohammed, upon this, left an omrah to carry on the siege of Dowlatabad, and, with the greater part of his army, marched with great expedition to Guzerat. He was plundered in his way of many elephants, and a great part of his baggage, by the Indians: he lost also a great many men in defending himself. Having, however, arrived at Barage, Tiggi retreated to Cambay, and was pursued by Buckera, whom the emperor had detached after him. Tiggi, having engaged the pursuers at Cambay, turned the

war-chace upon them, killed Buckera and many other omrahs, while the rest retreated to the emperor. The rebel ordered all the prisoners taken in the action, as well as those whom he had formerly in confinement, to be put to death ; among the latter was Moaz, viceroy of Guzerat.

Mohammed, hearing of this cruelty, breathed revenge. He hastened to Cambay, and Tiggi, unable to oppose him, retreated ; but was closely pursued thither by Mohammed. The rebel continued his flight to Narwalla, and, in the mean time, the emperor, on account of a prodigious rain, was obliged to halt at Assawil a whole month. Advices were brought him at Assawil, that Tiggi, having recruited his army at Narwalla, was returning to give him battle. He immediately struck his tents and met the rebel at Kurri. Tiggi, having injudiciously ordered his men to intoxicate themselves with strong liquors, they attacked the imperialists with the fury of madmen ; but the elephants in front soon repressed this borrowed valour, and repulsed and threw into confusion the rebels. An easy conquest was obtained : five hundred prisoners were taken and put to death ; and an equal number fell in the field. The emperor immediately dispatched the son of Buckera in pursuit of the runaways, by the way of Tatta, near the mouth of the Indus, whither Tiggi had fled ; while the king went in person to Narwalla, and employed himself in settling Guzerat.

News, in the mean time, arrived from the Decan, that the Mogul officers had assembled again under Hassen Caco, had defeated Ahmed, who had fallen in the action, had driven all the imperial troops towards Malava : and that Ismael had resigned his regal dignity, which Hassen Caco had assumed under the title of Alla. Mohammed was excessively chagrined, upon receiving this intelligence, and began to consider his own tyranny as the cause of all those disorders. He therefore resolved to govern with more mildness and humanity for the future. He called his nephew Feroze,

and other nobles, with their troops, in order to dispatch them against Caco.

Before those omrahs arrived, the king was informed that the usurper's army was prodigiously increased. He therefore determined first, to settle Guzerat and Carnal,* and then to march in person to the Decan; but this business was not so soon accomplished as he at first imagined; for he spent a whole year in regulating Guzerat, and in recruiting his army. The next year was also spent in besieging the fort of Carnal, reducing Cutch, and the adjacent territories. Some authors affirm, that Mohamméd took the fort of Carnal; but others, of better authority, say, that he desisted from that attempt, upon receiving some presents from the rajah. The poet Birni informs us, that Mohammed, one day, about this time, told him, that the diseases of the empire were of such a malignant nature, that he had no sooner cured them in one place, than they broke out in another. He would therefore be glad to know what remedy now remained, to put a stop to this contagion.

The poet replied, that when disaffection and disgust had once taken root in the minds of the people, they were not to be exterminated, without tearing up the vitals of the state: that the emperor ought to be, by this time, convinced, how little was to be hoped from punishment. That it was therefore his opinion, in this case, that the king ought to invest his son with the government, and retire; which would obliterate all former injuries, and dispose the people to peace and tranquillity. Mohammed, says Birni, answered in an angry tone, "That he had no son whom he could trust, and that he was determined to scourge his subjects for their insolence, whatever might be the event."

The emperor, soon after this conversation with Birni, fell sick at Kondal. He had previously sent Jehan and Ahmed to Delhi, on

* Now Joinagui.

account of the death of the viceroy, and called most of the principal men of the empire to the royal camp. Having recovered a little from his disorder, he mustered his army, and sent to collect boats along the Indus, which he ordered towards Tatta. Marching then from Kondal, he arrived on the banks of the Indus, which he crossed in spite of Tiggi; and was, on the other side, joined by five thousand Mogul horse. From thence he took the route of Tatta, to chastise the Sumrahs, for giving the rebel protection. Arriving within sixty miles of that city, he halted to pass the first days of the Mohirrim; and when that fast was over, having eat fish to excess, he was seized with a fever. He would not, however, be prevailed upon to stop, but, getting into a barge, he proceeded to within thirty miles of Tatta; and upon the banks of the Indus, on the twenty-first of Mohirrim, in the year 752, A. D. 1351, this tyrant was conquered by death, and shut up in the dark dungeon of the grave. He reigned twenty-seven years: during which time he seems to have laboured, with no contemptible abilities, to be detested by God, and feared and abhorred by all men.

FEROSE III.

When the death of Mohammed took place, his cousin Feroze was in the imperial camp. He was nephew to the emperor Tuglick; and Mohammed having conceived great friendship for him, designed to make him his successor, and, for that purpose, recommended him upon his deathbed to the omrahs. Upon Mohammed's demise the army fell into the utmost confusion. Feroze having gained over the majority of the omrahs to his party, prevailed, with presents, upon the Mogul mercenaries to move to some distance from the camp to prevent disturbances, till he should reduce the rest of the army to obedience. Amir Norose, a Mogul chief, who commanded a great body of the imperial troops, deserted that night, and, having joined Altu, the general of the Mogul mercenaries, told him, that this was

the time to plunder the late emperor's treasure, and to retreat to their native country. Altu was easily prevailed upon to adopt this lucrative scheme. They therefore returned next morning to the camp, which was still in great confusion, and, after a very sharp skirmish, loaded some camels with treasure. Feroze, to secure himself from further depredations, led the army to Sewan, and took every possible means to defend himself against the avarice of the mercenaries. The omrahs, the day after this movement, waited upon Feroze, and entreated him to mount the throne. After many pretended excuses, he favoured the omrahs with his consent, and was accordingly proclaimed emperor.

He, the very first day of his reign, gave orders to ransom many prisoners, who, during the late confusion, had fallen into the hands of the people of Tatta: and, upon the third day, he marched against the Mogul mercenaries, took many of their chiefs prisoners, and forced the rest to fly towards their own country. He soon after directed his march to the fort of Bicker, gladdened the face of the court with princely presents, and gave very liberally to the zemindars of Bicker and Sewistan. He from thence sent Ahmed and Ali Ghorî against the rebel Tiggi, with a part of his army, and marched himself towards Outch, where he did many acts of benevolence and charity.

At Outch the emperor received advices from Delhi, that Jehan, who was a relation of the late emperor, now about ninety years of age, had placed upon the throne a boy, whom he had adopted, by the name of Mohammed, and had massacred a number of the citizens who had refused to pay him allegiance. Feroze sent Shanapil, to expostulate with the old man, who, he thought, was now in the dotage of years, with promises of forgiveness and favour, if he would relinquish his ridiculous scheme. The emperor himself, in the mean time, remained with the army, to regulate the territory of Outch. He was soon after joined by Muckbil, the vizier of the

empire, who received an honorary dress, and a confirmation of his former dignity.

Ferose having reached Hassi, on his way to Delhi, met an ambassador from Jehan, acquainting him that now the empire was in the hands of Mohammed's family, and therefore, that it would be no more than justice in him, to acknowledge the title of the young king, and act as regent during the minority. Ferose immediately convened the omrahs before the ambassador, and asked them, whether they knew any of the male issue of Mohammed. They all declared, that unless Molana Cumal, an omrah then present, knew, they were perfectly strangers to any surviving issue of Mohammed. Molana made answer, that though one should remain of the issue of the former emperor, it was now adviseable to stand by what was already done. There is reason to believe, from this circumstance, that the youth who was set up at Delhi, was actually a son of Mohammed, though it was, at that time, prudent in the omrahs not to acknowledge him.

The emperor, after the council, sent Zada the ambassador back to acquaint Jehan of what had passed, and to advise him to accommodate matters in an amicable way. When Zada arrived in the city, a number of the principal men in the place hastened to the camp of Ferose, and made their submission.

Jehan, perceiving that he could not support the young king, made overtures towards an accommodation with Ferose. He sent some respectable omrahs to intercede with the emperor for his pardon, and to solicit leave to pay his respects in person. Ferose consented, and accordingly the old man, with his head bare, and his turban hung round his neck, came, accompanied by some of the principal men of his party, to make his submission. The king, according to his promise, gave him his life, but ordered the chief magistrate of Hassi to take him under his care, which was a kind of imprisonment.

In the year 752, Ferose marched into Delhi, and mounted the

imperial throne. He immediately began to administer impartial justice to his people, who flocked from all quarters with their petitions.

In the year 755, the king built the city of Feroseabad, adjoining to that of Delhi; and in the following year marched to Debalpoor, where he made a canal 100 miles in length, from the Suttuluz to the Jidger. In the year 757, between the hills of Mendouli and Sirmore, he cut a channel from the Jumna, which he divided into seven streams: one of which he brought to Hassi, and from thence to Beraisen, where he built a strong castle, calling it by his own name. He drew, soon after, a canal from the Cagar, passing by the walls of Sirsutti, and joined it to the rivulet of Kera, upon which he built a city, named after him, Feroseabad. This city he watered with another canal from the Jumna. These public works were of prodigious advantage to the adjacent countries, by supplying them with water for their lands, and with a commodious water-carriage from place to place.

An embassy about this time arrived, with presents and new conditions of peace from Bengal, which Ferose accepted, and soon after ratified the treaty. Bengal became, in a great measure, independent of the empire, paying only a small acknowledgment annually, by way of present. He exacted no other terms of the Decan; so that these two great members were now in a manner lopt off from the government of Delhi.

Ferose, who continued to have much at heart the improvement of his country, was informed, that near Hirdar, in the province of Sirhind, there was a mountain from which there issued a great stream of water, which fell into the Suttuluz; and that beyond that place there was a small rivulet called Selima, divided only by a rising ground from the large stream which we have just mentioned. The emperor considered, that, by making a cut through this eminence, the great stream might be carried into the rivulet, and so form a river to water the countries of Sirhind and Munsurpoor, from

whence it might be carried to Sunnam, and so render great tracts of land fertile. He therefore marched immediately that way, and ordered fifty thousand labourers to be collected together to cut the passage. When the workmen were in this place employed in digging to a great depth, they found some immense skeletons of elephants in one place, and, in another, those of a gigantic human form, the arm-bones of which measured one yard. Some of the bones were in their natural state, and others petrified.

The emperor, having finished this great work, built a fort at Sirhind, which he called **Ferosepoor**. He, from that place, marched towards the mountains of Naugracut, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow. He however reduced the rajah of those parts, after sustaining some loss on his side, and confirmed him again in his dominions; changing the name of Naugracut, to that of the city of Mohammed, in honour of the former emperor. Ferose was told here, that the goddess, whom the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Naugracut, was the image of Noshaba, the wife of the great Secunder, which that conqueror had left with them. The name of the idol is now changed to that of Jewallamucki. In the temple there was also, at that time, a fine library of the books of the **Brahmins**, consisting of one thousand and three hundred volumes. Ferose ordered one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into the **Persian language**, and called it the arguments of Ferose.

The emperor, after the conquest of Naugracut, moved down the Indus towards Tatta, where Jambani, who had been always a subject of Delhi, had rebelled and fortified himself. The imperial army invested the city, but as provisions and forage became excessively scarce, and the rains had set in with great violence, Ferose was obliged to raise the siege and march to Guzerat. He there spent the season in hunting, and, after the rains, he conferred the government of Guzerat upon Ziffer, and returned again to Tatta. Jambani

capitulated, and delivered himself up to Ferose, who carried him, and the principals of his faction, to Delhi; but, after some time, he took him again into favour, and sent him to resume his former government.

After various military exploits, mostly crowned with success, and many years spent in acts of beneficence and justice to his admiring subjects, but not necessary to be enumerated in this abridged history of his reign, in the year 787, age and infirmity began to press hard upon Ferose. Jehan, the vizier, having the sole management of affairs, became very powerful in the empire. The emperor was so much under his direction in all things, that he had the effrontery falsely to accuse Mohammed, the king's son, of a design against his father's life, in conjunction with several omrahs. He brought the old man firmly to credit this accusation, and obtained his authority to secure the supposed conspirators. Ziffer was accordingly recalled from his government of Mahoba, and confined.

A party was sent to seize the prince, who, having previous intelligence of the design against him, began to provide for his security, placing guards, and fortifying himself in his own palace. In this situation he remained shut up for some days; and at last, having obtained leave for his wife to visit the king's Zenana, he put on his armour, went into the close chair, and was carried into the Seraglio. When he discovered himself in that dress, the frightened women ran screaming into the emperor's apartment, and told him, that the prince had come in armour with a treasonable design. The prince having followed them, presented himself to his father, and falling at his feet, told him, with great emotion, "That the suspicions he had entertained of him were worse than death itself. That he came therefore to receive it from his own hands. But first he begged leave to inform him, that he was perfectly innocent of the villainous charge which the vizier had purposely contrived to pave his own way to the throne."

Ferose, sensible of his son's sincerity, clasped him in his arms, and weeping, told him, he had been deceived; and therefore desired him to proceed, as his judgment should direct him, against the traitor. Mohammed upon this went out from the presence, and ordered twelve thousand horse to be in readiness. With this body he surrounded the vizier's house that night, who, upon hearing of the prince's approach, put Ziffer to death, and, collecting his friends, came out to engage him in the street. Upon the first onset, the traitor was wounded, and drew back to his house. He fled immediately towards Mewat, and the prince seized all his wealth, and cut off his adherents.

Ferose, immediately after these transactions, resigned the reins of government into the hands of his son, and abdicated the throne. The prince, assuming the name of Mohammed, ascended the throne in 789; and immediately ordered the Chutba to be read in his own and his father's name. He settled the offices of state, and distributed honorary dresses among the omrahs.

Mohammed went with his army, in the year 790, towards the mountains of Sirmore, to hunt, according to the custom of sovereigns. When he was employed in the diversion of the chase, advices were received, that Musirra, governor of Guzerat, at the head of the Mogul mercenaries settled in that country, had risen in rebellion, defeated, and slain Secunder, who had been appointed to succeed him. The emperor hastened to Delhi; but, as if all at once infatuated, he gave himself up entirely to pleasure, and seemed to be insensible of the loss which he had sustained, and of the dangers in which his conduct had involved him. When his old omrahs attempted to rouse him from his lethargy, he turned them from his presence, and filled their offices with pimps and court flatterers.

The emperor's nephew, Baha, resolved to rush upon him in the midst of his dream of pleasure. He, for this purpose, conspired with the disgraced omrahs, and arming one hundred thousand slaves,

erected the standard of rebellion. Mohammed immediately dispatched Malleek Lahori, to treat with the rebels. When he came to their camp, which was pitched without the city, the mob pelted him with stones, and obliged him to retire very much bruised and wounded. Mohammed, seeing no hopes of a peaceable accommodation, began, at length, to exert himself, and advanced with his army against the conspirators, and, after a bloody contest, drove them into the city. They immediately possessed themselves of the palace, and again renewed the fight. The city became now a horrid scene of slaughter and confusion. During the space of two days and two nights, there was nothing but tumult and death in every street: friends and foes, victors and vanquished, were mingled together without any possibility of distinction.

The slaves, upon the third day, brought out the old king, in his palankin, and set him down in the street between the combatants. When Mohammed's troops saw their former master, their affection returned, and, imagining that this was a voluntary deed of his, they at once deserted the prince, and crowded with shouts of joy to Ferose. Mohammed fled instantly, with a small retinue, to the mountains of Sirmore. Both parties looking up to the aged monarch, settled themselves into peace in his presence. Ferose, unable to govern on account of the infirmities of age, placed, by advice of the omrahs, Tuglick, the son of his eldest son, the deceased prince Fatte, upon the throne. The slaves, in the mean time, assassinated Hassen, the emperor's son-in-law, for having endeavoured to support Mohammed; and even the first orders issued by Tuglick, when he mounted the imperial throne, was to kill all the adherents of Mohammed, wherever they should be found.

Ferose, having arrived at the age of ninety, died in A. H. 790, or A. D. 1388. Though no great warrior in the field, he proved himself, by his excellent qualities, well calculated for a reign of peace. He reigned thirty-eight years and nine months, and left many

memorials of his magnificence in Hindostan. He built fifty great sluices, forty mosques, thirty schools, twenty caravanseras, an hundred palaces, five hospitals, an hundred tombs, ten baths, one hundred and fifty wells, one hundred bridges; and the pleasure gardens he made were without number.

The empire of Persia continued all this time under petty princes of the line of Gengis, till Timur Bec, commonly called Tamerlane in Europe, mounted the throne of the kingdoms of Zagatai, which comprehended all Maver-ul-nere or Transoxiana, and the provinces of Cabul, Zablestan, and others towards the Indus. After the conquest of the Northern Tartary, he turned his arms against Persia, and entered Chorasán seven years before the death of Ferose. He completed the conquest of Persia in less than five years, and at the period of that emperor's death, Timur was employed in the reduction of provinces upon the Euphrates.

TUGLICK II.

Tuglick having mounted the throne in the palace of Feroseabad, ordered, according to custom, the Chutba to be read, and the currency to be struck in his own name. He appointed Ferose Ali his vizier, by the title of Jehan, and confirmed Musirra, the rebellious governor, in his command of Guzerat. He soon after sent an army under the vizier, to expel his uncle Mohammed from Sirmore, and that prince, upon the approach of the imperial army, fled to the mountains. He there took possession of a strong post, and, securing the wives and children of his adherents, waited to give the imperialists battle. He was however beat from post to post till he arrived at Naugracut, and shut himself up in that place. That fortress being very strong, his enemies did not think proper to besiege it, and therefore returned to Delhi.

Tuglick giving reins to his youthful passions, and neglecting the

affairs of state, vice, luxury, and oppression began to predominate on every side. He was not blind to those misfortunes, but he mistook the cause, and admitted jealousy and mistrust within his mind. He confined, and treated cruelly, his own brother, Sallar: and his cousin Abu Bicker, having reason to dread the emperor's resentment, fled the court, and, to secure himself, stirred up a faction against Tuglick. The conspirators consisted of Ruckun, the vizier's deputy, and several other omrahs of high repute, with all the imperial slaves, many of whom were in the highest offices at court.

Matters being ripe for execution, the conspirators rushed into the divan, and assassinated Mubarick, the captain-general of the forces. Tuglick, being thus surprised, fled by the Jumna gate. Ruckun pursued him, and having taken him and Jehan the vizier, they were immediately put to death. This event happened to Tuglick in the year 791, or A. D. 1389, after a reign of five months and a few days.

ABU BICKER.

The conspirators having assassinated the king, raised Abu Bicker, the grandson of the emperor Ferose, by his third son; to the empire. Rukun, being appointed vizier, took the reins of government in his own hands; but his ambition was not satisfied with that high employ: he formed schemes to cut off the new king, and to usurp the throne. Abu Bicker, having timely information of his intentions, was beforehand with him, and ordered him and many of the principal slaves concerned in the conspiracy to be put to death.

In the mean time, the Mogul chiefs of Samana assassinated the viceroy, Sultan, the fast friend of the reigning emperor, and sent his head to the prince Mohammed, at Naugracut. They earnestly solicited him to come and assert his right to the empire. Mohammed accordingly, having collected his friends, advanced by the way of Jallendar to Samana, and proclaiming himself king at that place,

advanced with a great army towards Delhi. After some repulses, Mohammed proved victorious, and sent Abu Bicker to his grave, in the year 792, or A. D. 1390, when he had reigned one year and six months.

MUHAMMAD IV.

Mohammed entered Delhi in the month of Ramzan, and immediately ascended the imperial throne. He gave the office of vizier to Islam, to whom he principally owed that throne.

In the year 794, intelligence was brought to Delhi, that the prince Narsingh, chief of the Mahrattas, and other chiefs of the Hindoos, had risen in arms against the empire. Mohammed ordered the vizier, with a considerable force, against Narsingh, the most powerful of the insurgents. Narsingh was defeated, made peace, and attended the conqueror to Delhi. The other chiefs were subjugated at the same time. The zemindars of Attava, upon account of some grievance, rose in arms, and ravaged Bittaram and the adjacent districts. Mohammed marched against them in person, and chastised them. The fort of Attava was levelled with the ground, and the emperor took the route of Canouge and Tillasar, in the last of which cities he built a fort, which, from his own name, he called Mohammedabad.

Shortly after advice came to the emperor from Delhi, that the vizier was preparing to fly to Lahore and Multan, to kindle in those provinces the flames of rebellion. Mohammed hastened to the capital, and charged him with these treasonable intentions. The vizier absolutely denied the fact, but Jaju, a Hindoo, and his own nephew, swore falsely against him. Mohammed, being either convinced of his vizier's guilt, or instigated by a jealousy of his power, condemned him to die. Jehan, who was perhaps not the least active in producing the vizier's fall, was advanced to his office. Muckirrib, who made a figure in the next reign, was, at the same time, ap-

pointed governor of Mohammedabad. The reign of Mohammed is particularly barren of important events.

In the year 795, the Mahrattas and Hindoo chiefs again appeared in arms; and Muckirrib was ordered, with the troops at Mohammedabad, against them. The emperor, about this time, marched to Mewat, to quell some disturbances in that place. Upon his return to Mohammedabad, he was taken ill of a dangerous fever, which rendered him delirious for some days. When he was in this condition, news was brought, that Nahir* had plundered the country to the gates of Delhi. The emperor, though far from being recovered of his illness, hastened to Mewat. Nahir, who headed the rebels, drew up his army at Kottilab, and gave Mohammed battle; but he was defeated, and fled to Jidger.

Mohammed, after this victory, returned to Mohammedabad, and, in the month of Ribbi, the second of the year 796, sent his son Humaioon to crush the prince of the Gickers, who had rebelled, and possessed himself of Lahore. But before the prince had left Delhi, news was brought to him of his father's decease; for the emperor, having relapsed into his former disorder, expired on the 17th of the same month, A. D. 1392. He reigned about six years and seven months, and his body was deposited at Delhi, with his fathers.

Mohammed being mixed with the dead, his son Humaioon ascended the throne, by the name of Secunder. He continued or confirmed all his father's officers; but being in a few days taken with a violent disorder, he went the way of his fathers, after a reign of forty-five days.

MAHMUD III.

When Humaioon yielded to the power of fate, violent disputes arose among the nobles about the succession. They at last fixed upon Mahmud, an infant son of the emperor Mohammed, whom

* An adherent of Abu Bicker.

they placed upon the throne, by the name of Mahmud Shah ; while Jehan remained in the office of vizier, and absolute government of the state. Muckirrib, governor of Mohammedabad, was made captain-general of the forces, Sadit was appointed lord of the audience, Saring governor of Depalpoor, and Dowlat nominated to the office of chief secretary of the empire.

The apparent debility of that empire, arising from the king's minority, and dissensions of the omrahs, encouraged all the Hindoos around to kindle the flames of rebellion ; particularly those of the eastern provinces. Jehan, the vizier, upon this occasion, assumed the title of King of the East, and proceeded towards Behar, with a great army. He soon reduced that country to obedience, and having at the same time forced the prince of Bengal to pay him the customary tribute, he returned, and fixed his residence at Jounpoor. While Jehan thus established himself, in opposition to his master, in the east, Saring, governor of the provinces near the Indus, began to form an independency in the west. Having, as subah of Debalpoor, collected the troops of the province of Multan, and the north-west division of the empire, he advanced against the Gickers, who waited for him at Adjodin, about twenty-four miles from Lahore. A battle immediately ensued, and the Gickers being defeated, were obliged to take refuge among the mountains of Jimbo. Saring, after this victory, left his brother Adil in the government of Lahore, and returned himself to Debalpoor.

In 1797 Mahmud, having left Delhi in charge of Muckirrib, the captain-general, marched towards Gualior and Biana, accompanied by Sadit and many of the chief omrahs. When the king had arrived in the neighbourhood of Gualior, Mubarick, Eckbal the brother of Saring, and Alla, conspired against the life of Sadit. But Sadit, having timely information of the plot, slew Mubarick and Alla, while Eckbal escaped to Delhi. Though the conspiracy was thus quashed, the confusion which was the consequence of it,

obliged the emperor to return to the capital, without prosecuting the scheme of reducing those territories to obedience.

The distractions in the empire began now to multiply exceedingly. Mahmud arriving in the neighbourhood of Delhi, Muckirrib, the captain-general, came out to pay his respects. But having on his way understood that Sadit had sworn vengeance against him, for affording protection to Eekbal, he fled back to the city, and, shutting the gates against the prince, prepared to make a resolute defence. The city in short was besieged for three months, till the king being assured that the war was commenced, and continued on account of Sadit, accommodated matters with Muckirrib, and, in the month of Mohirrim 797, was admitted into Delhi.

Muckirrib, encouraged by the coming over of his prince, marched the next day out of the city, with all his forces against Sadit; but he was beaten back with great loss. The rains had now come on, and it being impossible for Sadit to keep the field, he struck his tents, and marched into Feroseabad. He immediately sent for Nuserit, the son of the prince Fatte, the eldest son of the emperor Ferose, from Mewat, and set him up in opposition to Mahmud, by the title of Nuserit Shah. Under the name of this prince, Sadit began to manage the affairs of that part of the empire which adhered to Nuserit; but a new faction breaking out in his government, disconcerted his measures. The slaves of the emperor, disgusted with his behaviour towards them, prevailed upon the keepers of the elephants to join them. They forcibly placed Nuserit upon an elephant, advanced against Sadit, and drove him quite out of the city of Feroseabad, before he had time to prepare for his own defence. To avoid one danger, the unfortunate Sadit fell into another; for having sought protection under Muckirrib, the captain-general, he was by him put to death.

The misfortunes of the state daily increased. The omrahs of Feroseabad, and some of the provinces, espoused the cause of Nuserit.

Those of Delhi, and others, supported the title of Mahmud. The whole empire fell into a state of anarchy, confusion, and distraction. A civil war was kindled in every corner, and, a thing unheard-of before, two kings, in arms against one another, resided in one capital. Things, however, remained in this unfortunate situation for three years, with a surprising equality on both sides ; for if one monarch's party had at any time a superiority over the other, it was in singularity of misfortunes. It was not a state of war, but a continued battle between the two cities : thousands were killed almost every day, and the place of the slain was constantly supplied by reinforcements from different parts of the empire. Some of the subahs of the provinces took no part in this civil war. They hoped to see the empire so weakened by public calamities, that they themselves might become independent ; and to lay a foundation for their future power they withheld the customary revenues.

In the year 798, or A. D. 1396, Saring, the brother of the famous Eckbal, the governor of Debalpoor, having some differences with Chizer, governor of Multan, made war upon him. After several engagements with various success, victory declared for Saring. He immediately seized Multan, became very powerful, and, in the year following, advanced with a great army to Samana, which he reduced to his obedience. Nuserit dispatched Tatar, subah of Panniput, and Almass, with an army, against him. They engaged Saring in the following year, gave him a signal overthrow, and obliged him to fly to Multan.

Saring received, in that city, intelligence, that the prince Mohammed Jehangire, the grandson of Timur, had built a bridge over the Indus, and that, having crossed that river, he invested Outch. Saring immediately dispatched his deputy, with other omrahs, and the best part of his army, to reinforce Ali, the deputy of the governor of Outch. Mohammed, hearing of this army, advanced to the Bea, fell upon them by surprise just as they had crossed that river, de-

feated, and drove them back into the stream ; so that more were drowned than fell by the sword. A few of the discomfited army made the best of their way to Multan. Mohammed kept close in the rear of the runaways, and obliged Saring to shut himself up in Multan. After a siege of six months he was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender at discretion ; and being imprisoned, with all his army, Mohammed took possession of the city. Saring, in a few days, found means to escape : but the country remained in subjection to the Moguls.

To return to the transactions at Delhi. Eckbal, being disgusted with the emperor Mahmud, deserted him. He sent a message to Nuserit, to desire permission to join him with his party. This offer was very readily accepted ; they met, went to the palace of Seri, and, upon the Coran, swore mutual friendship. During these transactions, Mahmud, with Muckirrib, the captain-general of his forces, remained in the old city. The perfidious Eckbal, about three days after his desertion, quarrelled with Nuserit, and, regardless of his oath, began to form a conspiracy against him. Nuserit, being informed of the plot, found himself constrained to quit the palace of Seri. The traitor fell upon him in his retreat, and took all his elephants, treasure, and baggage. The unfortunate prince, being in no condition to keep the field, fled to his vizier at Panniput.

Eckbal immediately took possession of Ferozabad. His power daily increased, and he now employed it to expel the emperor Mahmud and Muckirrib from the old city. At length, by the mediation of some nobles, peace was concluded between the parties. But Eckbal, peculiarly perfidious, broke through all the sacred ties of the treaty ; and setting upon Muckirrib in his own house, by surprise, slew him. He immediately seized Mahmud, and left him nothing but his life and the name of emperor. Eckbal, in the same year, marched from Delhi with Mahmud, against Nuserit, and Tatar at Panniput. Tatar, leaving his elephants

and baggage in the fort, passed, by forced marches, the army of Eckbal, arrived before Delhi, and invested it. Eckbal, trusting to the strength he left in Delhi, advanced and attacked Panniput, and took it the third day, by escalade. He then hastened back to Delhi, and Tatar, having failed in his attempt upon that place, fled to his father in Guzerat. Eckbal entering the city, began to regulate the government, which had fallen into the utmost confusion. In the mean time, to complete the miseries of the unhappy city and empire, news arrived, that Timur had crossed the Indus, with an intention to conquer Hindostan.

From the year 790 to the present year A. H. 800, or A. D. 1398, that prince had been extending his conquests over all the Western Asia, had reduced the Northern Tartary, and spread his ravages into Russia, as far as the Arctic circle.*

The glorious exploits, or rather the series of murders, committed by that renowned conqueror in Hindostan, and the important change which the invasion itself produced, through this whole region of Asia, will properly form the commencement of the Fourth Book, and the SECOND and FINAL Volume, of this History.

* To Ferishta the reader is also indebted for the above chapter ; my sole business having been to abridge that writer in the best manner I was able, so as to present him with a connected detail of the principal events that occurred during the two preceding centuries. For the succeeding centuries, down to the year 1800, we have immense collateral aid in a variety of the most respectable writers.

END OF VOL. II.

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